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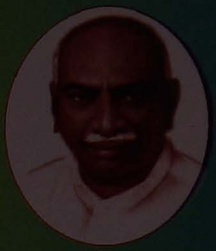

M.A

First Year

CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION PART-II THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY

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CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE ADMINISTRATIN

Dear Students ,

Warm Greetings to you from the Faculty of Criminology and Police administration of the Directorate of Distance Education of Madurai Kamaraj University.

You have enroled yourself into an unique course, namely, M.A. Degree in Criminology and Police Administration.

The subject "Theoritical ciminology" forms part of the course in First year M.A. Criminology and Police Administration.

Criminology forms part of behaviour science. which studies the human behaviour on the negative side. It studies the various demention of criminol behaviour of a section of the community with the aim of finding out solutions for the same. As a student of criminology and Police Administration you will come to know a number of theories of Criminology. They are all very interesting to study. It will create in interest in you on this subject particularly.

However, students are advised to observe and use the details wherever necessary in the examination. You may also provide real examples known to you in the context of the answers you write in the examination on this subject. Additional information are invited gladly from serving personals and practising civil and criminal lawyers and professionals from other allied fields of activities.

"Wish you All success in all your endeavours".

Department of Criminology
and Police Administration

THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY

SYLLABUS

UNIT -I : Theoretical Perspectives in Criminology

Meaning and importance of theories -Types of Criminological Theories -Historical Development of Theories: an overview -Criteria for evaluating Theories.

UNIT -II : Psychological and Psychiatric Theories

Psychological Theories of Criminal Behaviour

Personality and Criminal Behaviour -Self-control and crime -Aggressiveness and crime -Personality Inventories: MMPI, CPI -Intelligence and crime -IO Tests and criminal behaviour -The Gluecks Study on juvenile delinquency

Psychiatric Theories of Criminal Behaviour

Crime and mental illness -Schizophrenia -Abuse of alcohol and drugs -Freudian View of Crime -The Anti-Social Personality -Bowlby's Theory of Delinquency.

UNIT -III : Sociological Theories: Crime and Social Structure

Crime and Social Structure -I

Social Structure Theory -Social Disorganisation Theory -The Chicago School - Strain Theory -General Strain Theories -Anomie -Institutional Anomie

Crime and Social Structure -II: Subculture theories

Cohen's theory of the delinquent subculture -Miller's lower-class gang delinquency -the subculture of violence theory of Wolfgang and Ferracuti - Cloward and Ohlin's theory of differential opportunity

UNIT -IV :Sociological Theories: Crime and Social Process

Crime and Social Process -I

Socialisation and Crime -Differential Association Theory -Differential Reinforcement Tfieory -Neutralisation and Drift Theory

Crime and Social Process--II

Hirschi's social control or social bond theory -Becker's labelling theory -Self- control and self-esteem as related to crime

UNIT -V : Radical Criminologies

Crime and Power

Radical criminology -Conflict criminology -Marxist Criminology -Instrumental Marxism -Structural criminology -Structural Marxism -Left Realism -Postmodern Theory -Peacemaking criminology

UNIT -VI :Gender, Crime and Justice

Feminist Criminologies

Liberal feminist, Radical Feminist, Socialist Feminist Criminologies -Contribution of feminism to criminology

UNIT -VII: Integrating Criminological Theories

Need for integration -Conceptual and propositional Integration -Types of integration : Akers, Cullen and Colvin, Elliott, Krohn, Thornberry, Kaplan, Tittle, Developmental and Life Course Theories.

Reference Books:

1. Akers, Ronald.L. and Sellers, Christine, S. (2004) Criminological Theories (Fourth Edition), Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

2. Curran, Daniel J. and Renezetti, Claire M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Second Edition, Pearson, USA

3. Siegel, L.J. (2003) Criminology, Eighth edition, Wadsworth, USA

4. Void, George B., Bernard, Thomas J., and Snipes, Jeffrey B. (2002) Theoretical Criminology, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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UNIT - I

LESSON - 1

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN CRIMINOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This lesson offers an introduction to the understanding and importance of theories in general and criminological theories in particular. It also presents a few criteria to evaluate these theories scientifically.

UNIT OBJECTIVIES

1. To have a clear understanding of the definition of a scientific theory and grasp the importance of theories in our life.
2. To be familiar with the types of criminological theories in general
3. To be familiar with the criteria for evaluating the theories.

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objectivies

Unit Structure

1.1. A Theory - Its Meaning

1.2. The Importance of Criminological Theories.

1.3. Types of Crimimological Theories

(Space for Hints)

1.4. The Historical Development of Theories.

1. What is Paradigm.

1.5. History

1.6. Synopsis of Criminological Theories.

1.7. Criteria for evaluating Criminological Theories.

1.8. Summary

1.9. Key words

1.10. Answer to Check your Progress

1.11. Model Questions.

1.1 A THEORY -ITS MEANING

A theory can be defined as an abstract statement that explains why certain things do or do not happen. This statement must have empirical or observable implications, i.e. it must make predictions that something observable will or will not happen under certain specified circumstances. An effective theory helps us to make sense of facts that we already know and can be tested against new facts. To qualify as scientific, a theory must satisfy at least the two criteria of logical integrity and empirical verifiability. Theories, then, are really generalizations of a sort; they explain how two or more events are related to each other. A theory is a set of interconnected statements or propositions that explain how two or more events or factors are related to one another.

1.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

Understanding the true cause of crime remains a difficult problem. Still there are so many unanswered questions and ambiguous answers, e.g. why, given similar conditions, one person elects criminal solutions to his or

her problems, while another conforms to accepted social rules of behaviour? Why are crime rates higher in some areas or regions than in others? Why are some groups more crime-prone than others? These and similar questions assist the criminologists to search for the answers and formulate adequate and appropriate theories. These enable us to come to grips with certain realities of life and help us to formulate correct policies and programmes to deal effectively with them. Herein lies the importance of criminological theories.

Every criminological theory contains

- a set of assumptions (about human nature, social structure, and the principles of causation, to name a few),
- a description of the phenomena to be explained (facts a theory must fit), and
- an explanation, or prediction, of that phenomenon.

The assumptions are also called meta-theoretical issues, and deal with debates like those over free **will vs determinism** or **consensus vs conflict.** The description is a statistical profile, figure, diagram, or table of numbers representing the patterns, and trends. The explanation is a set of variables arranged in some kind of causal order so that they have statistical and meaningful significance. Criminological theories are primarily concerned with 'etiology (the study of causes or reasons for crime), but occasionally have important things to say about actors in the criminal justice system, such as police, attorneys, correctional personnel, and victims.

1.3. TYPES OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

a. Macro- and Micro-theory

A theory that addresses broader questions about differences in criminal and deviant behaviour across societies and groups is called a "macro" theory. e.g. Social structural theory. On the other hand, one that focuses specifically on small group or individual differences is referred to as "micro" theory, e.g. drug addiction or pornography.

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b. Structural and Processual Theories

Those theories that emphasize that the proportion of crime among groups, classes, communities, or societies differs because of variations in their social or cultural make-up are called structural theories.

Those theories that assert that an individual commits criminal acts because s/he has experienced a particular life history, possessed a particular set of individual characteristics, or encountered a particular situation are called processual theories.

c. Theories of law-making, law-breaking and law-enforcing

Criminology is defined as the study of the entire process of law-making, law- breaking and law-enforcing.. Therefore, theories in criminology fall into two categories: theories relating to criminal law and criminal justice and theories concerning theories of criminal and deviant behaviour.

d. Other Types

- Biological Theories explain crime with one or more genetic, chemical, neurological, or physiological variables;
- Psychological Theories are based on personality, emotional maladjustment, mental retardation, psychic disturbance, or psychological traits;
- Social Psychological Theories account for crime by reference to behaviour, self, and cognitive variables in a group context;
- Sociological Theories explain crime with cultural, structural, and sociodemographic variables.

e. In detail

There are basically thirteen identifiable types of criminological theories. Only "three" of which are considered conventional criminology They are strain, learning, control. The oldest theory -biochemistry- goes back to

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1876 and the last four theories -Left realism, Peacemaking, Feminist, Postmodern -have only developed in the past twenty-five years.

	Theory	Causes	Policy
1.	Biochemistry	heredity, vitamin deficiency, allergy, tumor, toxins, brain dysfunction, hormonal imbalance	isolation, treatment
2.	Psychology	low intelligence, psychopathy, stress	treatment, counselling
3.	Ecology	disorganized neighborhoods	community empowerment
4.	Strain	economic goal blocked	increased opportunities
5.	Learning	imitation, reinforcement schedules	more effective negative reinforcement, more use of positive reinforcement
6.	Control	socialization, low self-control	child-rearing, social bonds
7.	Labelling	shunning, identity immersion	nonintervention, reintegration
8.	Conflict	power differentials, competition	increased equality
9.	Radical	class struggle, capitalism	socialism
10.	Left Realism	predatory relationships	more effective police protection
11.	Peacemaking	inner suffering and turmoil	spiritual renewal
12.	Feminist	gender inequity, patriarchy	end sex discrimination
13.	Postmodern	hierarchical privileges and language	more informal social control

1. Biochemistry is known by many names :- Biological, constitutional (having to do with the structure of the body's morphology), genetic, and anthropological criminology. The oldest field is criminal anthropology,

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founded by the "father of modern criminology", Cesare Lombroso, in 1876. He was one of the first exponents of the positivist approach to explaining crime, positivism meaning a search for the causes of crime using scientific method, as opposed to the classical approach, which relies upon "free will" as the main cause of crime. Historically, theories of the biochemistry type have tried to establish the biological inferiority of criminals, but modern biocriminology simply says that heredity and body dysfunctions produce only predisposition towards crime.

2. **"Psychological"** criminology has been around since 1914, and attempts to explain the consistent finding that there is an eight-point I.O difference between criminals and noncriminals. That gap isn't enough to notice, but it might make them more impulsive, and even people with high I.Qs are vulnerable to deviance. Other psychocriminologists focus on personality disorders, like the psychopaths, sociopaths, and antisocial personalities.

3. **Ecological** criminology was the first sociological criminology, developed during the 1920s at the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Hence, it is also called Chicago School sociology. Ecology is the study of relationships between an organism and its environment, and this type of theory explains crime by the disorganized eco-areas where people live rather than by the kind of people who live there.

4. **"Strain"**, sometimes called by the French word anomie, is a 1938 American version of French sociology, invented by the father of modern sociology, **"Emile Durkheim"** (1858-1917). This type of theory sees crime as the normal result of an "American dream" in which people set their aspirations for wealth, education, occupation, any status symbol too high, and inevitably discover strain, or goal blockages, along the way. The only two things to do are reduce aspirations or increase opportunities.

5. **"Learning theories"** tend to follow the lead of Edwin H.Sutherland's theory of differential association, developed in 1947, although ideas

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about imitation or modeling go back to 1890. Often oversimplified as "peer group" theories, learning is much more than that, and involves the analysis of what is positively and negatively rewarding (reinforcing) for individuals.

6. **"Control theories"** in criminology are all about social control. Only those called containment or low-self control theories have to do with individual psychology. Control theory has pretty much dominated the criminological landscape since 1969. It focuses upon a person's relationships to their agents of socialization, such as parents, teachers, preachers, coaches, scout leaders, or police officers. It studies how effective bonding with such authority figures translates into bonding with society, hence keeping people out of trouble with the law.

7. **"Labelling theory"** was a child of the 1960s and 1970s which saw criminals as underdogs who initially did something out of the ordinary, and then got swept up in a huge, government-sponsored labelling or shunning reaction. It argues that anyone facing such an overwhelming, negative labelling social reaction will eventually become more like the label because, that is the only way out for their identify formation. It points out that sometimes it is best to do nothing for minor offending, and that there are few reintegrative rituals designed to help people fit back into their communities.

8. **"Conflict theory"** holds that society is based on conflict between competing interest groups; for example, rich against poor, management against labour, whites against minorities, men against women, adults against children, etc. These kind of theories have their origins in the 1960s and 1970s, and are characterized by the study of power and powerlessness.

9. **"Radical theories"**, also from the 1960s and 1970s, typically involve Marxist (Karl Marx 1818-1883) critiques of capitalist society which allows things to exist like millions of billionaires and millionaires while the vast majority of people live in poverty or just get by. Such fundamental economic disparities reflect basic contradictions in the way work

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is organized into demoralizing, brutalizing, and oppressive conditions. Crime is seen as a reflection of class struggle, a kind of primitive rebellion with criminals behaving as rebels without a clue. Only through praxis (informed action based on theoretical understanding) will the new socialist society be formed and crime will go away.

10. **"Left realism"** is a mid-1980s British development that focuses upon the reasons why people of the working class prey upon one another, that is, victimize other poor people of their own race and kind. It wants the police to have more power in protecting poor people, but on the other hand, doesn't want the police to be invasive or intrusive.

11. **"Peacemaking criminology"** came about during the 1990s as the study of how "wars" on crime only make matters worse. It suggests that the solution to crime is to create more caring, mutually dependent communities and strive for inner rebirth or spiritual renewal and inner peace.

12. **"Feminist criminology"** matured in the 1990s, although feminist ideas have been around for decades. The central concept is patriarchy, or male domination, as the main cause of crime. Feminists also tend to call for more attention to female points of view.

13. **"Postmodern criminology"** matured in the 1990s, although postmodernism itself (as a rejection of scientific rationality to the pursuit of knowledge) was born in the late 1960s. It tends to focus upon how stereotypical words, thoughts, and conceptions limit our understanding, and how crime develops from feelings of being disconnected and dehumanized. It advocates replacing our current legal system with informal social controls such as group and neighborhood tribunals.

1.4. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEORIES AN OVERVIEW:-

1. What is a paradigm?

A theory is basically an explanation of a given reality. An explanation is a sensible way of relating some particular phenomenon to the whole world

of information, beliefs, and attitudes that make up the intellectual atmosphere of a people at a particular time or place. This intellectual atmosphere which consists of basic assumptions about human nature and how the world operates, is called a paradigm.

It provides the scientist with a model for choosing the problems to be analysed, the methods for analysing them, and the theoretical framework for explaining them. In criminology, there exist competing paradigms for studying the same phenomena. The major paradigms or schools of thought that historically have informed criminological research and theory building are: the classical school, the positivist school and the Marxist/radical school.

Criminologists bring their personal beliefs and. backgrounds to bear when they study criminal behaviour, so that there are diverse theories of crime causation. Some criminologists have a psychological orientation and view crime as a function of personality development, social learning, or cognition. Others investigate the biological correlates of antisocial behaviour and study the biochemical, genetic, and neurological linkages to crime. Sociologists look at the social forces producing criminal behaviour, including neighbourhood conditions, poverty, socialization, and group interaction.

1.5. HISTORY

Criminology has a rich history with roots in the utilitarian philosophy of Beccaria, the biological positivism of Lombroso, the social theory of Durkheim and the political philosophy of Marx. Larry J. Siegel offers us a fascinating panorama of the history of criminological theories in the West from 3000 B.C. to 2002 A.D. on a time line sequence. (Siegel) But the various schools of criminology developed only over 200 years. Each one of them continues to have an impact in the field.

Classical theory has evolved into rational choice and deterrence theories. Biological positivism has undergone similar transformation. Although criminologists no longer believe that a single trait or inherited characteristic can explain crime, some are convinced that biological and psychological traits interact with environmental factors to influence all human behaviour, including criminality.

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Check Your Progress

1. Examine the Meaning of "A Theory"
2. What a Criminological Theory Contain?
3. What are the types of criminological Theories.
4. Examine Ecological Criminology
5. What is Edwin. H.Sutherland's Theory.

(Space for Hints)

Sociological theories maintain that individuals' lifestyles and living conditions directly control their criminal behaviour. Those at the bottom of the social structure cannot achieve success and thus experience anomie, strain, failure, and frustration. Some sociologists have added a social-psychological dimension to their views of crime causation and believe that individuals' learning experiences and socialization directly control their behaviour.

The writings of Marx and his followers continue to be influential. Many criminologists still view social and political conflict as the root cause of crime. Some criminologists are now integrating each of these concepts into more complex developmental theorie's of crime.

EVOLUTIONS

Evolution, according to Funk and Wagnall (1995), is "the act or process of unfolding; development or growth, usually in slow stages and from simpler forms to those [that] are more complex". Criminology and criminal justice have evolved from simple forms to their much more complex forms than one recognizes today. Although the full content of the forms will be discussed in later chapters (3 and 4), before being able to understand that content. we must see where it emerged from. However, be advised that the discussion is limited to the main highlights of evolution because a complete in-depth discussion can and often does require a complete text of its own? Furthermore, this text takes a different approach in that the evolution of criminology and criminal justice are examined as social foci and as academic disciplines. As the older academic discipline, criminology will be explored first.

CRIMINOLOGY-AS A SOCIAL FOCUS

The primary focus of this text is to compare and contrast the disciplines of criminal justice and criminology. To accomplish this task, it requires a brief knowledge of how they became disciplines, which first requires exarnination of both as social foci.

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As previously noted, criminology, as a formal field of study. has existed longer than criminal justice. Pelfrey (1980) advised: "Criminology, as a social focus, emerged with the publication of Cesare Beccaria's Essay on Crimes and Punishment in 1764"(p. 1). Bcccaria was a utilitarian who believed that a human being was generally a rational being who sought pleasure and tried desperately to avoid pain (Beccaria, 1963). His writings were in response to punishment during this time, which was of an extreme nature. It included torture, brandings, mutilation, banishment, and death. Based on his stance and writings, the first recognizable criminological approach to criminal behavior and society's response emerged as what is recognized as the classical school of criminology.

The main claim of the classical school was that crime could be controlled by punishing identified offenders in a way that would make potential offenders fearful of the consequences of committing crime. The main ttenets of the classical school were:

1. Social contract-coined by Beccaria as an idea that an individual is bound to society only by his or her own consent and therefore, society was responsible to him or her
2. Free will-individuals made their own choices to act
3. Seek pleasure: and avoid pain
4. Punishment should be used as a deterrent to criminal behavior
5. Identical punishments for identical crimes

Overall, the classical school insisted upon a clear-cut legal definition of the act punishable as criminal and fostering the idea of free will: People commit crimes because of free choice of right or wrong. The classical school of thought would maintain strength and prominence until the 1930s, when it began to decline because of a more treatment-oriented approach fostered by the positive school of criminological thought (additional contributors and aspects of the clasical school will be offered another Chapter).

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Beginning. around the late 1800s, a second school of thought would emerge in criminology. Popularly recognized as the positive school of criminology, its humble beginnings are often attributed to an Italian physician, Cesare Lombroso. This school of thought is believed to have emerged in opposition to the harshness of the classical school, as well as in response to the lack of concern for the causes of criminal behavior"(Pelfrey, 1980, p5).

Members of the positive school of thought believed that external forces causeacnminal behavior, biological, psychological, and sociological in nature. They rejected judicial concept of crime recognized by the classical school. Their focus, In search of differences between criminal and noncriminal beings, included the. individual instead of the law and a quest for scientific status. That is, why did the behavior occur? A major shift from the classical school was the emphasis on treatment as opposed to pWlishment. ~e main tene~of the positive school included:

1. Denial of the free-will concept
2. Multiple causes of criminal behavior
3. Causes are biological and environmental
4. Using scientific methods to look at causes
5. Actions toward the criminal should be to correct the behavior, not punish it

Although three individuals-Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Raffaele Farofalo-are recognized as the impetus behind positivism (often called the "Holy Three of Criminology"), Lombroso is the one who wears the mantle of "Father of Positive Criminology."

Lorribroso's ideas arose from his study of cadavers of executed criminals, trying to determine scientifically if there was a positive correlation between physique and crime. It was Lombroso's contention that criminals were physically different from individuals with conventional values and behaviors. Lombroso's theory of ciriminal behavior included four types of ciminals

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1. Born criminals-referred to as crimogenic, these individuals had inherited ph)'sical problem.c; that led them to commit serious offenses

2. Atavistic criminals-these individuals suffered from physical anomalies such as large jaws and canine-type teeth -

3. Insane criminals-these individuals suffered from various hereditary problems, deafness, venereal diseases, as well as environmental problems such as alcoholism or lack of education

4. Others-this group included those who were drawn into crime because of greed or passion or who were only occasionally criminal

Overall, Lombroso's theory was heavily rooted in physical and biological ideology. Despite the large following he had, his theories; along with most of those fostered under the positive school, seem to have very little support or value today primarily because they have not been scientifically proven. (As with the classical school, further discussion of the positive school will be offered in Chapter 3.)

Despite its limited application and lack of scientific support, the positive school remained a mainstay of criminology theory and research into the 19705 because of its psychological thurst. However, byfue 1970s and continuing today, the classical school has had somewhat of a resurgence. This is because of the disenchantment with the positive school of thought (primarily because of the scientific inability to support its theories), rehabilitation did not seem to work, and the continuing increases in criminal behavior. Notwithstanding its alleged comeback, the classical schoolof thought does not appear to have done much for criminological theory but has led to additional approaches or schools of thought.

The classical school was concerned with application of law and punishment, and the positive school claimed that biological, psychological factores affected behavior. By the 1970s, a new response to crime recognized as the radical school of thought, emerged. The emphasis of this school was that

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society by itself was the major problem because the powerful in society controlled the nonpowerful. From this school, theories on conflict, Marxism, group, and social reality would develop and continue to receive attention. Most recently, a contemporary school of thought is developing that includes focusing on specific group impact, such as female criminality. (Again, Chapter 3 explores these last two schools of thought in greater detail.)

In short, criminology as a social focus has existed in some form or fashion for more than 200 years. Yet, despite its longevity as a social focus, its existence as an academic discipline is much shorter.

CRIMINOLOGY-AS AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

As a social focus, it has been noted that criminology has existed for about 200 years. Its existence as an academic discipline is nowhere near as old.

Unlike its sister discipline, criminal justice, the actual emergence of criminology as its own discipline is much more difficult to pinpoint. For many years, criminology had been a subdiscipline of sociology (and in some cases, still is!). The majority of criminologists were sociologists who studied crime and its soci etal relationships. A review of the literature finds that criminology began to build its road to separatism from sociology in the 1950s. Identified as a catalyst for this drive and "a major land mark in criminology", (elfrey 1980, p. 13) was C. Ray Jeffery's The Structure of American Criminological thinking (1956), where Jeffery conducted a critical analysis of criminology. Despite the significance of this work, the truer emergence of criminology appears to have begun in the late 1960s as sociology and other social sciences were under going criticisms and change. (Note: This was about the time that "radical" criminology began emerging as a field of study.)

It is observed that about this time, criminology (and criminologists) was offered a challenge to become progressive and mature into its own science (Resons, 1974). With sociology facing its own identity crisis, it was only natural that criminology would begin to pull away and become its own

discipline. To date, criminology is still struggling to maintain its individuality. Nevertheless, it continues to face challenges from waning sociology departments needing an infusion that criminology and its majors can bring and by criminal justice programs that are continuing to flourish because of its links to employment in the criminal justice system. Regardless of its stance as a discipline, it remains an important aspect of the study of crime and criminal behavior and thus links to criminal justice. In essence, we can view criminology as the scientific study of criminal behavior as if pertains to criminal justice, the social focus.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE-AS A SOCIAL FOCUS

While criminology may be older with respect to academic nature and application, it is easily arguable that criminal justice as a social focus is much older. Unlike criminology's social focus as a theoretical approach to addressing and understanding crime, criminal behavior, law, and punishment, criminal justice's social focus is really a historic examination of the applied aspect of law and punishment. Ultimately, criminal justice as a social focus deals with the creation, application, and enforcement of criminal laws to maintain social order.

Despite knowing that the term history often turns many students off because of their perceptions that history is "boring", a brief historical accounting of the growth of criminal justice is important toward understanding it as an academic discipline. Besides, as Johnson and Wolfe (1996) suggest:

1. History makes available a sound perspective concerning the nature of human growth and development,

2. Historical knowledge brings with it some assurance against "reinventing the wheel,"

3. History demands critical analysis and careful thought from its students (p. 2).

Criminal justice as an academic discipline first began in the early 900s as police-science courses (but with a strong training approach) offered by

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August Vollmer at the University of California at Berkeley (Mutchnick, 1989; Pelfrey, 1980). This was followed by a police training program at the University of Chicago in 1929 and similar programs at other institutions. A steady growth of police-related programs continued until the 1960s. The first established program using the term criminal justice in its title was in 1966 with the establishment of the SUNNYA (State University of New York-Albany) School of Criminal Justice.

In 1963 Governor Nelson Rockefeller decided to meet the demand for an academic program organized around the issue of crime and its control. In 1966 a cadre of scholars gathered in Albany to create the concepts of the school, under the direction of the first dean, Richard Myren. (SUNY website-Criminal Justice [http:/ /www.suny.edu], 1997, p. 2)

This school's development was a few years before legislation, based on recommendations from the President's Commission on Law Enfort:ement and the Administration of Justice, that would create the impetus for growth of criminal justice education. This growth of criminal justice as an academic discipline resulted from the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (1969), which provided funding to colleges and universities offering criminal justice programs. By 1978 there were more than 1000 prograns proffering criminal justice education.

Today, there are approximately 1300 universities and colleges offering a rubric of criminal justice related programs (for example, criminal justice, criminology, justice studies, administration of justice, law enforcement etc.) Yet even with the large number of programs, criminal justice has had a difficult time gaining status as a true academic discipline. This is unlike criminology, whose close ties to sociology allow for its acceptance as an academic discipline. However, criminal justice has earned the right to recognition as a distinct discipline. As Frank Cullen, criminal justice professor and past president of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, has noted (1995), criminal justice has all the hallmarks of an academic discipline:

1. Distinct departments or programs, whose curricula are instructed fully by criminal justice faculty

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2. Ph.D. programs dedicated to the creation of criminal justi.ce knowledge and to the scholarly training of researchers, most of whom will assume academic positions

3. Numerous scholarly journals dedicated exclusively to the publication and the transmission of criminal justice knowledge

4. Separate professional organizations dedicated to the dissemination of criminal justice knowledge through scholarship and education

5. A rapidly expanding knowledge base, which increasingly is produced by scholars trained by or working in departrnents of criminal justice

6. A large student Population who define themselves as "criminal justice majors"

7. Faculty whose academic identity is criminal justice (p.3)

"Still, despite the above identified hallmarks,. criminal justice continues to struggle to achieve full acceptance by its social science counterparts as well as academic administrators. Never theless,. it has become an extremely popular field of study for students, particularly those interested in pursuing employment in the criminal kustice system. Of course, this may be one of the problems in the lack of acceptance of criminal justice as a true academic discipline.

Unlike most other social sciences, including its sister, criminology, criminal justice has a dual role: as a social science field of study and semipreparation for employment in the criminal justice field. Because its focus of study is the same system in which students can gam employment, It lends to Its populanty as an academic. major. The downside is that students, practitioners, and academicians all believe that by completing a degree program in criminal justice, the student is being trained for a specific job in crinlinal justice. This is a fallacy that has been difficult to elimiriate.

During the earlier days of criminal justice as police science or law enforcement, the emphasis was on training or educating by police practitioners who told "war stories." It was quite common for students in these pro-

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grams to take courses on selfdefense, report writing, first aid, patrol techniques, and so on that were geared toward preparing the student for entry into law enforcement.

While the focus of many criminal justice programs has gone away from the applied approach toward a more theoretical approch, the subject matter by itself is inundated with an applied nature. Thus, it has been very difficult for criminal justice to be accepted as a true academic discipline. However, it should become quite clear by book's end that while the evolution continues, criminal justice is a strong, viable discipline whose existenceis necessary and vital to criminology-and vice versa.

CRIMINOLOGY AND CIMINAL JUSTICE

Criminology and criminal .ustice are divergent yet similar ideas that exist as social foci and academic disciplines. As a social focus, criminolog). relates to criminal behavior and treatment, a concern that has existed for over 200 years. On the other hand, criminal justice deals with the structure and application of those entities that must deal with the criminal behavior. Its very nature has been documented to be literally thousands of. years in the making. Yet despite the difference in ages of existence, criminology and criminal justice as social foci revolve around the same core: crime.

As an academic discipline, criminology is theoretically based as an outgrowth of sociology and is still hying to fully establish itself as a solid and separate discipline. Criminal justice has evolved from more applied programs of police science or law enforcement and is half the age of criminology, yet it appears to have become a much more popular academic discipline, at least among college students interested in employment in the CJS.

In either case, both are necessary parts of society and academe. Furthermore, there is an apparent intertwining relationship, and it is necessary to provide a venue where comparison, contrast, intertwinement, and application can be examined.

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1.6. SYNOPSIS OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

	Classical Theory	Marxist/Conflict Theory	Positivist Theory	Sociological Theory
Origin	About 1764	About 1848	About 1810	1897
Founders	Cesare Beccaria, Jeremy Bentham	Karl Marx, Willem Bonger, Ralph Dahrendorf, George Vold	Franz Joseph Gall, Johann Spurzheim, Lavater, Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, Raffaele Garofalo, Earnest Hooton, Charles Goring	Emile Durkheim, Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Burgess, Clifford Shaw, Walter Reckless Frederick Thrasher
Core Ideas	People choose to commit crime after weighing the benefits and costs of their action.Crime can be deterred by certain,. severe, and swift punishment.	Crime is a function of class struggle.The capitalist system's emphasis on competition and wealth produces an economic and social environment in which crime is inevitable.	Some people have biological and mental traits that make them crime prone. These traits are inherited and are present at birth. Mental and physical degenerations are the cause of crime.	A person's place in the social structure determines his or her behaviour. Disorganized urban areas are the breeding ground of crime. A lack of legitimate opportunities produces criminal subcultures. Socialization within the family, the school, and the peer group controls behaviour
Modern Outgrowths	Rational choice Theory, Routine Activities Theory, General Deterrence Theory, Specific Deterrence, Incapacitation.	Conflict Theory, Radical Theory, Radical Feminist Theory, Left Realism, Peacemaking, Power-control Theory, Postmodern Theory, Reintegrative Shaming, Restorative Justice.	Biosocial and Psychological Theory, Cognitive Theory, Behavioural Theory, Evolutionary Theory, Arousal Theory, Life Course Theory, Latent Trait Theory.	Strain Theory, Culture Deviation Theory, Social Learning Theory, Social Control Theory, Social Reaction Theory, Labelling.

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1.7. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

How do we know if a theory offers a sound explanation of crime and criminal justice? How do we judge which explanation is preferable over another? What are the criteria for evaluating criminological theories?

1.7.1 Logical Consistency : A theory should have clearly defined concepts and logically stated and internally consistent propositions.

1.7.2 Empirical Validity: Empirical validity means that a theory has been supported by research evidence. This is the most important criterion for judging a theory.

1.7.3 Scope: It refers to the range of phenomena which a theory proposes to explain.

1.7.4 Parsimony: This refers to the conciseness and abstractness of the concepts and propositions. The principle of parsimony is to use as few propositions as possible to explain the widest range of phenomena.

1.7.5 Testability: A scientific theory must be testable by objective, repeatable evidence.

1.7.6 Usefulness and Policy Implications: A theory can be evaluated by its usefulness in providing guidelines for effective social and criminal justice policy and practice.

AN ILLUSTRATION

Take, for example, the thesis that child abuse, low-self-esteem, a delinquent selfconcept result in a young person's suicidal behaviour. The four stages in this thesis are clearly expressed in five steps: child abuse, low self-esteem, a delinquent self-concept, delinquent behaviour and labeling by the juvenile court.

1. The child is abused, sexually or physically, or neglected by the parents.

2. The chtld feels humiliated and unworthy, and develops a low self-concept and self-hatred.

3. Along with low self-esteem, the child develops also a rage against the parents and this rage is often displaced onto people in the general population.

4. Self-hatred manifests itself through substance abuse, self-mutilation and other self-destructive behaviour, sometimes culminating in suicide.

5. The juvenile court reflects society's viewpoint and. puts the final stamp of 'delinquent' on the juvenile.

Are the concepts in these propositions clear, connected to and consequent on each other? We think so. Has the theory been supported by research evidence? There seems to be no definitive evidence so far to prove this theory. Not all the concepts involved in the statement are amenable to objective verification e.g. internal processes in an individual are obtained mostly through self-report. Certainly the statement can be applied to a range of juvenile behaviour, and it helps policy makers and correctional administrators to frame the right policies and programmes.

Each theory should be subjected to a similar analysis and only then, we will understand the merits and demerits of these theories.

1.8 SUMMARY

After defining the meaning of a scientific theory, we highlighted the importance of theories in criminology. The various types of criminological theories were enumerated and explained. In order to understand them in proper perspective, a history of the criminological paradigms was briefly described: A synopsis of criminological theories, giving the particulars regarding each one's year of origin, the founders, core ideas and modern out-

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Check Your Progress

6. What is a Paradigm.
7. What is the Criteria for evaluating criminological Theories?

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growths was presented. The lesson ended with enunciating a few Icriteria for evaluating criminological theories.

1.9. KEY WORDS

Empirical validity - this is the most important criterion for judging a theory. It means that a theory has been supported by research evidence

Logical consistency - This is the basic prerequisite for a sound theory; it should have clearly defined concepts and its propositions are logically and internally consistent.

Paradigm - a set of assumptions or organizing principles that provide the foundation of a researcher's -work.

Parsimony - a theory which explains a wide scope of events with a few succinct statement.

Theory - A set of interconnected statements that explain how two or more events or factors are related to one another.

1.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer Para. 1.1.
2. Refer Para. 1.2
3. Refer Para 1.3
4. Refer Para 1.3.3.
5. Refer Para 1.3.5.
6. Refer Para 1.4
7. Refer Para. 1.7.

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1.11. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define a Paradigm. Explain with two examples.

2. Describe and comment on the Synopsis of Criminological Theories.

3. What are the major criteria by which theories can be assessed? Explain them with suitable examples.

SOURCE BOOKS

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson, USA

c. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

What do you think?

Write 'yes' or 'no' against each statement.

1. A theory is a concrete statement about socio-economic and political events.

2. An effective theory helps us make sense of facts that we already know.

3. Theories explain how two or more events are related to each other.

4. Criminological theori.es do not help us to understand crime and delinquency; instead, they confuse us.

5. Structural theories emphasize a person's life history and dysfunctional family relationships as causes of criminal behaviour.

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6. When a theory js supported by research evidence, then it is said to be empirically valid.

7. A paradigm is a set of assumptions or organizing principles that provide the foundation for a researcher's work.

8. Parsimony means that a theory uses as few propositions as possible to explain the widest range of phenomena.

9. Clearly defined concepts, logically stated and internally consistent propositions are essential for a good theory.

10. The history of criminology could be conveniently summarized under four categories: Classical, Conflict, Positivist and Sociological theories.

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UNIT - II

LESSON-2

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

INTRODUCTION

In this lesson we examine some of the psychological theories that have been applied to criminal behaviour, especially those dealing with personality and intelligence.

UNIT OBJECTIVIES

1. To understand the relationship between personality types and criminal behaviour.
2. To understand the relationship between certain personality traits like aggressiveness, self-control, intelligence and crime.
3. To get an insight into the delinquent personality.

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objectivies

Unit Structure

2.1. Personality and Criminal Behaviour

1. What is Personality ?

2. Criminal Personality?

2.2. Self-Concept Crime and Delinquency

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2.3. Self - Control and Crime

2.4. Aggressiveness and crime

2.5. Basic Patterns of Violence

2.6. Personality Inventories

a. M M P I

b. C P I

2.7. Intelligence and Crime

2.8. I.Q. Tests and Criminal Behaviour

2.9. The Gluecks Study

2.10. Summary

2.11. Keywords

2.12. Answer to Check Your Progress

2.13. Model Questions.

2.1. PERSONALITY AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Since the beginning of the scientific study of criminal behaviour, psychologists have been debating the questions, can the cause of crime be linked to one's personality? Do criminals and delinquents differ from law-abiding persons in basic personality type? Is criminal and delinquent behaviour an expression of personality traits such as impulsiveness, aggressiveness, sensation-seeking, rebelliousness, hostility etc.

1. WHAT IS PERSONALITY?

Personality can be defined as the reasonable stable patterns of behaviour, including thoughts and emotions that distinguish one person from another. The way we think, feel and behave is a function of how our per-

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sonality enables us to interpret life events, make appropriate life choices and adapt to life's demands and problems. Psychologists and psychiatrists believe that criminals tend toward certain well- defined personalities, and that their criminal tendencies can be overcome by controlling or altering those core personalities.

2. CRIMINAL PERSONALITY

In terms of their personalities, criminals could be classified into the following groups:

1. Socialized criminals: These are people who are no more emotionally disturbed than the average person. They become criminals as a result of the social context within which they learn deviant values. They are more likely to become property offenders than violent. criminals.

2. Neurotic criminals: These individuals become criminals as a result of personality distortions and distortions in their view of the world around them. Kleptomaniacs, shoplifters and pyromaniacs often have neurotic compulsions that can result in criminal behaviour.

3. Psychotic criminals: Psychotic criminals suffer from severe personality disorders, which severely distort their perceptions of the society and world around them. They are not in touch with reality and they live in their own world. Unlike socialized criminals, psychotics do not plan their crimes. They are prone to violent acts which seem to others most bizarre and senseless.

4. Sociopathic criminals: These offenders are characterized by an ego-centric personality. We shall consider their characteristics later in Lesson 3 in detail.

It is to be noted that many socialized criminals have sociopathic tendencies and many violent criminals manifest a combination of socialized and sociopathic characteristics. Most white-collar, political criminals and those who are involved in terrorism and cyber crime have sociopathic personality characteristics.

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In The Criminal Personality (1977), Yocehelson and Same now report the results of their study with 255 institutionalised offenders in Washington, D.C. They claim to have identified fifty-two "errqrs of criminal thinking" that form the criminal personality. A few of them are: chronic lying, unrelenting optimism, great energy, fear of injury, intense anger, manipulativeness, and a rigid high self-image. They did not have a control group. So, it cannot be concluded that these personality traits are more common among criminals than among the general population.

2.2. SELF-CONCEPT CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

The offender's self-concept is a significant causal factor in criminal behaviour. Children who are physically, sexually. or emotionally abused, tend to develop low self- esteem and are more apt to commit delinquent acts as youth and grow Into adult offenders. They feel small and worthless and may not care what happens to themselves. These social-psychological forces may push these persons toward self- destructive behaviour such as drug abuse and violent crime, including terrorist acts. Many delinquent youth have low self-esteem because they have been physically and emotionally abused. They are full of rage toward the perpetrator of the abuse. They displace a lot of their aggres'sion onto people other than the primary object of their hostility. Yet on some level their low self-esteem persists and may be reflected in selfdestructive behaviour, too.

2.3 SELF-CONTROL AND CRIME

In A General Theory of Crime (1990), Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi describe the personality trait of self-control as "the individual characteristic relevant to the commission of criminal acts". Those possessing high self-control will be substantially less likely ,at all periods of life to engage in criminal acts. They assert that the low self-control they claim is common to all offenders, from juvenile delinquents to white-collar criminals, is the product of inadequate socialisation, defined as "absence of nurturance, discipline, or training". Research, while supporting this theory, also finds that criminal opportunities and situational influences on the choice of behaviour need to be incorporated into a complete theory of crime.

2.4. AGGRESSIVENESS AND CRIME

The inability to tolerate frustrating situations may lead to aggressive and violent behaviour. But aggressive behaviour does not necessarily follow directly from frustration. Even when frustration leads to aggression, that aggression can be channeled into acceptable activities. Megargee (1982) identifies the following determinants of whether an individual will respond aggressively to a situation:

1. Instigation to aggression: the total of all internal factors motivating the person to commit an aggressive or violent act.

2. Habit Strength: learned preferences for the use of aggressive behaviour in a particular situation.

3. Inhibitions against aggression: learned preferences to avoid aggression against a certain target.

4. Stimulus factors:, environmental influences facilitating or impeding aggressive behaviour.

5. Competition: making a choice among several responses to the situation so that the individual's needs are met in the best way.

Social scientists who have studied aggression in recent years have recognized that the causes of aggression and violence are extraordinarily complex.

TYPES OF PERSONALITIES

Even the same kind of crime can be committed by people with several types of personalities. One study found two kind of murderers under the age of sixteen. One was the "nonempathic murderer" who was incapable of seeing things from another person's perspective. The second type was the "sexual-identity-conflict murderer", These were boys who carried weapons because they lacked physical confidence, often as a result of being taunted as effeminate (Zenoff and Zients, 1979).

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Another study categorised 800 convicted rapists as follows:

1. Exploitative rapists (about 50 percent af all rapists) For them, rape is an impulsive and predatory act, with the victim seen only as an object for sexual gratification.

2. Compensatory rapists: (about 25 percent) They are obsessed with sexual, fantasies and feel very inadequate. They have fantasies that their victims will enjoy the rape and perhaps even fall in love with them, but they also think that no woman would want to have sex with them.

3. Displaced anger rapists: (about 20 percent): Rape expresses their displaced anger and rage. The victim represents to them a hated woman in their life, such as a mother or wife. Sex is a way of humiliating the victim.

4. Sadistic rapists (5 percent): Sexual feelings are linked to aggression for this type; they become more violent as they become more aroused. Their crimes are often premeditated and sometimes involve a compulsive and ritualized fantasy. (Prentky, Cohen, and Seghorn, 1985)

In another study by the FBI's Behavioural Science :-

Unit of thirty-six convicted sexual murderers revealed that in order to cope with their inadequate family life and their sense of personal failure, they retreated into a sexually violent fantasy world. Their fantasies, which influenced their behaviour, included themes of "dominance, revenge, violence, rape, molestation, power, control, torture, mutilation, inflicting pain on self/ others, and death". Their personalities were characterized by "a sense of social isolation, preference for autoerotic activities, rebelliousness, aggression, chronic lying, and a sense of privilege". (Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas, 1988).

2.5 BASIC PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE

Violence in all its forms could be categorized into four groups:

1. Legal, Sanctioned, Rational Violence: Many violent acts are supported in law. The soldier and the police are rewarded for violent acts. They are actually trained to be violent. Aggressive sports, too, could be considered to belong to this legally sanctioned violence. In some patriarchal cultures, male domination and violence are justified socially and legally, e.g. domestic violence.

2. Illegal, Sanctioned, Rational Violence: Examples of violence that are illegal yet sanctioned by society and considered rational would include violent response to insults or an attack upon one's honour or an assault committed by a deceived husband on an adulterer. Battered wives sometimes retaliate against their husbands. This behaviour may be approved, applauded and appreciated, though illegal.

3. Illegal, Nonsanctioned, Rational Violence: Violence for financial gain would fit into this category. Robbery and assault or homicide within the framework of organized crime could be rational, but illegal and nonsanctioned.

4. Illegal, Nonsanctioned and Irrational Violence: It is usually associated with senseless violence like serial killing, cold -blooded and methodical killing of innocent children and civilians. This kind of violence defies the law, social sanction and rationality.

2.6 PERSONALITY INVENTORIES

2.6.(a) One of the most widely used psychological tests is **"Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)"**

It was originally designed by Starke Hathaway (1939) for the purpose of detecting deviant personality patterns in mentally ill adults. It is a personality test of 556 true-false items that have been carefully selected to distinguish average people from those who are suffering from certain forms of psychopathology. This test includes ten clinical scales, three of which are especially important in distinguishing criminals and delinquents from the general population:

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1. Psychopathic deviate scale: conflict with authority and shallow personal! attachments,

2. Schizophrenic scale: bizarre thought and affect, and withdrawal from personal contact,

3. Hypomania scale: unproductive hyperactivity.

2.6.(b). Another popular test is the "**California Psychological Inventory (CPI)**".

This test was designed to provide personality profiles of the psychologically normal population. However, it correlates highly with the **MMPI** because half of its 480 true/ false statements are from the MMPI. The CPI consists of eighteen scales that measure such personality'traits as dominance, socialization, tolerance, achievement through conformity, achievement through independence, intellectual efficiency, sense of well-being, self-control, and flexibility. Of the eighteen scales, only three distinguish between criminal offenders and nonoffenders:

1. Responsibility scale: To identify people who are conscientious, dependable, articulate about rules and order, and who believe life should be governed by reason.

2. Socialisation scale: To forecast the likelihood that an individual will transgress the norms established by his/her culture.

3. Self-control scale: To assess the adequacy of self-regulation and freedom from impulsivity and self-centredness.

2.6.(c) The usefulness of both MMPI and CPI to distinguish criminals from noncriminals has been questioned by psychologists. MMPI includes items that ask about a respondent's past criminal behaviour. Consequently, it is not surprising that tests differentiate between criminals and noncriminals, but this differentiation reveals little about actual personality differences between the two groups. The eighteen CPI scales are redundant and too interdependent to measure distinct personality traits. Items on one scale seem to tap

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the same thing as items on other scales, even though each scale is supposed to measure a different, discrete personality component.

2.6.(d) Critics of personality theories of crime believe that these perspectives are faulty because they are premised on a false dichotomy: that an individual either is a . criminal or is not a criminal. Actually, criminality may be best understood in terms of a continuum: Few, if any, people are criminal all the time, and few, if any, are always law-abiding and conforming. Most criminals are psychologically normal. Those with some psychological abnormality represent only a small fraction.

2.7. INTELLIGENCE AND CRIME

Mental deficiency theories maintain that criminals either lack the intelligence to appreciate the reasons for the existence of the law and thus violate it, or are unable to control their actions or make good decisions if they are aware of the law.

Low intelligence might lead to criminal behaviour by being associated with;

1. lack of success in school and the job market, which might lead to resentment toward society
2. lack of foresight and a desire for immediate gains,
3. unconventionality and insensitivity to pain or social rejection, and
4. failure to understand the moral reasons to abide by the law.

Nonoffenders are seen as intelligent enough to understand the law, make good decisions, and control their action.

2.8. I.Q. TESTS AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

Research on the relationship between crime and intelligence has usually relied on IQ tests. There are three approaches in understanding IQ.

Check Your Progress

1. What is Personality?
2. What is Criminal Personality
3. Examine the Basic Patterns of Violence.
4. What is M.M.P.I.?
5. Can you Co-relate intellegence and Crime?

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1. IQ measures some form of abstract reasoning or problem-solving ability and that this ability is largely inherited.

2. IQ does not measure innate ability, but instead measures qualities that are related to the dominant culture.

3. IQ measures general abilities, but that those abilities are largely determined by the person's environment.

One's assessment of the relationship between IQ and crime will depend upon which position s/he takes regarding the meaning of IQ.

Many early criminologists maintained that many delinquents have a below- average intelligence quotient and that low I.Q. is a cause of their criminality. The alleged la-crime link was dismissed by mainstream criminologists but it once again became an important area of study when respected criminologists like Travis Hirschi and Michael Hindelang published (1977) a paper linking the two variables. They asserted that IQ is a more important factor than race and socioeconomic class for predicting criminal and delinquent involvement. They concluded that major differences exist between criminals and noncriminals within similar racial and socioeconomic class categories. They explained that youth with low IQ do poorly in schools, and school failure and academic incompetence are highly related to delinquency and later to adult criminality. But a recent evaluation of existing knowledge on intelligence conducted by the American Psychological Association conclude that the strength of an IQ-crime link was low.

It is unlikely that the la-crime debate will be settled in the near future. Even if it can be shown that known offenders have lower 10s than the general population, it is difficult to explain many patterns in the crime rate:

Why are there more male than female offenders? Why do crime rates vary by region, time of the year, and even weather patterns? IQs do not increase with age, so why should crime rates fall?

2.9 THE GLUECKS STUDY

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In 1952, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck published an intensive study that compared 500 delinquent and 500 nondelinquent boys. They argued that the "delinquent personality" is not so much a matter of the presence or absence of certain characteristics, but is more a matter of the interrelatedness of these characteristics. They summarise their impression of this interrelationship of these characteristics as follows:

"On the whole, delinquents are more extroverted, vivacious, impulsive, and less self-controlled than the non-delinquents. They are more hostile, resemntful, defiant, suspicious, and destructive. They are lest. fearful of failure or deafeat than the non-delinquents. They are less concerned about meeting conventional expectations, and are more ambivalent toward or far less submissive to authority. They are, as a group, more socially assertive. To a greater extent than the control group, they express feelings of not being recognized or appreciated". (Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency, p.275)

Based on their study, they formulated a five part scale to distinguish delinquent from nondelinquents:

1. Physical: essentially mesomorphic in constitution, solid, closely knit and muscular.

2. Temperamental: Restless, energetic, impulsive, extrovert, aggressive, destructive, erratic growth pattern.

3. Emotional: (in attitudes)hostile, defiant, suspicious, stubborn, resentful, assertive. adventurous, social, unconventional.

4. Psychological: Direct and concrete learning rather tham symbolic and abstract, intelligent expression, less methodical in approach to problems.

5. Socio-cultural: Familywise, they come from homes of little understanding, inadequate affection, poor moral fibre, undesirable models of uninhibited energy expression, mal-formed oharacter in early years.

a) Psychological and psychiatric researchers have now turned away from the question of trying to predict whether particular individuals will commit acts of violence in the future. Instead, researchers are now attempting to identify factors that are associated with an increased or decreased likelihood that an individual will commit crime in the future. With respect to particular individuals, the prediction becomes probabilistic. One individual has many factors and so has a high risk of committing crime in the future, while another has few factor s and so has a low risk.

b) The strongest predictor of later delinquent and criminal behaviour is earlier childhood problem behaviours such as disruptive classroom conduct, aggressiveness, lying, and dishonesty. This means that the same individuals who caused the most problems when they were young children will also cause the most problems when they are adolescents and adults. Other factors include poor parental child management, hurt by parents and siblings, low intelligence, educational attainment and separation from parents.

c) The Gluecks developed three prediction tables, one based on factors in the social background, one based on character traits as determined by the **"Rorschach test"**, and one based on personality traits as determined in the psychiatric interview.

Today there is a renewed interest among the psychologists in their methodology of research which is holistic and offers reliable early childhood indicators of future criminality.

2.10 SUMMARY

There is a wide perception that people with certain personality characteristics and/or low intelligence are more likely to commit crime and delinquency. There may be truth to this perception, but the research to date is

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insufficient to support any strong conclusions. Thus, it is not yet clear how large a role either personality- or intelligence plays in explaining crime in general. To understand the behaviour of most criminals and delinquents, it may be more profitable to start by analyzing the situations people find themselves in rather than their psychological characteristics.

2.11 KEYWORDS

CPI - California Psychological Inventory. a personality test consisting of 480 true/false statements divided among eighteen scales designed to profile the psychologically normal population.

Delinquent behaviours - Illegal acts whether, criminal or status, which are committed by youth under the age of 18; the youth committing them are referred to as juvenile delinquents.

I.Q. - Intelligence Quotient. A score arrived at by dividing the mental Age of an individual by his chronological age multiplied by 100.

MMPI Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory -a psychological screening device composed of ten clinical scales and four validity scales with a total of 567 true/false statements designed to detect psychological abnormalities.

Personality a set of relatively enduring behavioural characteristics and internal dispositions that describe how a person reacts to the environment.

2.12. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer. Para. 2.1.
2. Refer. Para. 2.2

(Space for Hints)

3. Refer. Para. 2.5.

4. Refer. Para. 2.6

5. Refer. Para. 2.7.

2.12. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define personality. Describe any of the Personality Inventories.

2. "Low intelligence leads to criminal behaviour". -Comment

3. Write a critical note on the Gluecks study

Source Books

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson, USA

c. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

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UNIT - II

LESSON -3

PSYCHIATRIC THEORIES OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the relationship between mental illness and crime, in particular, the psychodynamic perspective. An assessment of Freudian view of crime is attempted. The role of schizophrenia and the abuse of alcohol and drugs inducing criminal behaviour is explored. The main characteristics of anti-social personality are noted. The lesson concludes with Bowlby's theory of delinquency.

UNIT OBJECTIVE

1. To understand the association between mental illness and criminal behaviour.

2. To have an insight into the characteristics of anti-social personality.

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

Unit Structure

3.1. Crime and *Mental Illness*

(a) *Schiophrenia*

(b) Abuse of Drugs and Alcohol.

(Space for Hints)

3.2. Psychiatry and Criminal Justice System.

3.3. Freudian View of Crime

a. Freudian Model of Personality Structure.

3.4. Psycho-sexual stages of Development

a. Psychoanalytic theory

3.5. Antisocial Personality - "Psychopathy"

3.6. Bowlby's Theory of Delinquency.

3.7. Summary

3.8. Keywords

3.9. Answer to Check Your Progress.

3.10. Model Questions.

3.1.CRIME AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Medical Model

In the early nineteenth century, as scientific approaches to the study to crime were starting to appear, psychiatric theories strongly stressed that mental illness was the Major cause of crime. They offered a 'Medical Model' of crime causation, which viewed crime as 'disease of the mind' that needed to be 'cured'. This lasted almost till the middle of the twentieth century. Logically, criminals were sent to the mental health services or treatment centres rather than to correctional facilities.

Most psychotherapy in the field of criminology is based on the assumption that criminal behaviour is an overt symptom of some underlying emotional disturbance or disorder. It is not always true. Perhaps some criminal behaviour is a symptomatic acting out of underlying emotional pathology.

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Behaviour considered symptomatic of emotional disturbance is likely to receive more attention when exhibited by someone charged with or convicted of a criminal act. Generally, we tend to focus more on the emotional backgroud of a criminal than on that of the average person; more emotional problems may be attributed to criminal that to law-abiding people.

Criminal behaviour may cause emotional disorders. A criminal's life-style. Planning a crime, committing a crime, getting arrested, spending a long time in prison, dealing with a variety of negative or hostile forces In the process of criminal administration etc. are sufficient to induce emotional disturbance in a criminal.

Even today, there is a widespread popular belief, aided by media and movies, that mental illness leads to crime and that most criminals are mentally ill. It is also true that a great deal of research has found that many offenders who engage in serious crimes suffer from some sort of mental disturbance. Juvenile murderers have been described as "overtly hostile", "explosive or volatile", "anxious" and "depressed". Studies of men accused of murder found that 75% could be classifie-d as having some mental illness. Abusive mothers have been found to have mood and personality disorders and a history of psychiatric diagnoses. The reported substance abuse among the mentally ill is significantly higher than that of the general population.

Despite this evidence, we cannot conclude that mental illness as such is a direct cause of crime and violence. Perhaps, particular symptoms of mental illness may be connected to violence. People who suffer from paranoid or delusional feelings and who believe others wish them harm or that their mind is dominated by forces beyond their control, seem to be violence prone. (Siegel, p.161) Some individuals who have been diagnosed as mentally disturbed commit nonserious, nonviolent crimes; many more commit no crimes at all. At the same time, the majority of serious crimes against persons and property are committed by individuals with no diagnosis of mental illness. (Curran & Renzetti, p.84).

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To sum up,

"The correlates of crime among the mentally disordered appear to be the same as the correlates of crime among any other group: age, gender, race, social class, and prior criminality. Likewise, the correlates of mental disorder among criminal offenders appear to be the same as those in other populations: age, social class, and previous disorder. Populations characterised by the correlates of both crime and mental disorder (e.g., low social class) can be expected to show high rates of both, and they do". (Monahan and Steadman, as quoted in Curran & Renzetti, p.86)

In Particular :

3.1.(a) Schizophrenia

A mental disorder frequently diagnosed in criminals is schizophrenia. This disorder includes a deterioration in the ability to think clearly, impaired memory, a break with reality, and perceptual problems. Schizophrenics experience severe distortions of reality, often suffering delusions that the world is a hostile place and others are out to get them. Hallucinations are also common, especially auditory hallucinations, where the individual hears voices telling him or her what to do. Criminals diagnosed as schizophrenic have been convicted of a broad range of crimes, including burglary, sexual assault, and murder. But, schizophrenics constitute only a small percentage of offenders.

3.1.(b). Abuse of Drugs and Alcohol

The consumption of drugs and alcohol may encourage or facilitate criminal behaviour, because these substances lower inhibitions, impair judgement, and increase recklessness and risk-taking behaviour. Moreover, regular users have difficulty in getting and maintaining employment from which they earn legitimate income. In order to finance the drug habit, individuals get into crime. Also a lucrative criminal career may make it financially easier to buy drugs. Increased use of alcohol and drugs may precipitate child abuse and domestic violence.

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3.2. PSYCHIATRY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Very often, psychologists and psychiatrists are called on to testify as to whether a defendant is mentally competent to stand trial and about the likely mental state of a defendant at the time of the crime (insanity defense). Though clinical predictions and evaluations have improved substantially over the years, yet these assessments are still considered to be unreliable leading to inconsistent and incorrect results.

Insanity Defense : Insanity is a defense to criminal prosecution in which the defendant's state of mind negates his or her criminal responsibility. A successful insanity plea results in a verdict of 'not guilty by reason of insanity'. Insanity means that the defendant's state of mind at the time the Crime was committed made it impossible for the person to have the necessary intent or mens rea to satisfy the legal definition of crime.

One legal rule on criminal responsibility is the McNaughten rule. It was originally spelled out in a case in Great Britain in 1843. This rule establishes a 'right and wrong' test. For defendants to prove a lack of criminal responsibility because of insanity, they must demonstrate either (1) that at the time of the crime they were under a defect of reason so as to be unable to know the nature and the quality of the act, or (2) that if they were aware of the nature of the act, they did not know the act was wrong. Present American law limits the insanity defense to situations in which "the defendant, as a result of a severe mental disease or defect, was unable to appreciate the nature and quality or the wrongfulness of his acts".

The insanity defense has been the source of debate and controversy.

Critics state:

1. Inquiry into the psychological makeup of the offender could be more usefully done at the sentencing stage and not at the trial stage.
2. Criminal responsibility and mental illness should not be equated.

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3. Some criminals avoid punis.hment because they are erroneously judged by psychiatrists to be mentally ill.

Lawyers and criminologists agree that today the insanity plea is raised only in a very small number of all criminal cases, and even its total abolition would have very little impact on the crime rate.

CRIMINOLOGY

As previously noted,' every criminology text and most criminal justice texts offer a definition of criminology. The use of the following examples helps to extrapolate terms and create the working definition for this text. It begins with what has been described as a definition that "opens the most famous criminological text and serves to mark off the territory" (Conrad, 1979, p.9

Criminlogy is the body of knowledge regarding crime as a social phenomenon. It includes within its scope the processes of making laws, of breaking laws, and of reactingtoward the breaking of laws. These processes are three aspects of a somewhat unified sequence of interactions. Certain acts[that] are regarded as undesirable are defined by the political society as crimes. In spite of this definition, some people persist in then behavior and thus commit crimes; the political society reacts by punishment, treatment, or prevention. This sequence of interactions is the object-matter of criminology. (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960, p-3)

While the remaining definitions could all be considered outgrowths of Sutherland and Cressey's definition, one should note a major aspect in the other definitions, and missing from Sutherland and Cressey's is the addition of "scientific study or approach." Therefore, criminology has also been defined as:

The study of causes of crime and criminal motivation. It combines the academic disciplines of sociology and psychology in an effort to explore the mind of the offender; the scientific study of crime causation, prevention, and the rehabilitation and punishment of offenders (Schmalleger, 1996, p, 13; 1997, p. 28);

The scientific approach to the study of the nature, extent, cause, and control of criminal behavior (Senna and Siegel, 1996, p. 4);

A discipline that Scientifically examines crime and criminal behavior, including forms of criminal behavior, the of crime, and the societal reaction to crime (Champion, 1990, p. 4);

The study of ...the phenomenon ...and of the factors or circumstances-individual or environmental-(that) may have an influence on, or be associated with, criminal behavior and the state of crime in general (Waldron, 1989, p, 4);

The scientific study of crime and criminal behavior; the body of knowledge regarding crime as social phenomenon, largely concerned with finding "causes" of criminal behavior and measuring the extent of crime (Newman andAnderson, 1989, p. 674);

Modern criminology is the academic field of study that uses naturalistic reasoning to investigate the following issues: How are definitions of criminal and delinquent behavior derived What are the causes of criminal and delinquent behavior? and How should society respond to criminal and delinquent behavior (Levine, Musheno, and Palumbo, 1986, p. 126); and,

As a discipline is concerned with the development of a body of knowledge regarding the making of laws, the breaking of laws, and society's reaction to the breaking of laws (Pelfrey, 1980, p. 51).

In considering the content of the definitions given, a simplistic yet straightforward defining of criminology is achivable, However, before establishing or accepting a new working definition, an exploration of the elements of the other definitions is appropriate.

DEFINITIONAL ELEMENTS

Through the analysis of the various definitions cited, four common elements are observed

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1. Crime as a social phenomenon

2. Sientific study or approach

3. Criminal behavior

4. Causes of or influences on criminal behavior

CRIME AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

With respect to crime as a social phenomenon, Sutherland noted that criminology "is the body of knowledge" that relates to crime in this capacity. As a phenomenon, it is something visible or directly observable, as an appearance, action, change, or occurrence of any kind, as distinguished from the force by which, or the law in accordance with which it may be produced" (Funk & Wagnall, 1995, p. 947). Crime is that which legislative bodies define as activities or failures to act (omission) that islative bodies define as activities or failures to act (omission) that are unlawful. By participating in such an activity or failure to act (omission), an..individual has committed a crime. The first element of the definition of criminology advises that it offers information about why crime exist, particularly the extent to which it occurs. Nevertheless, there is no consensus whether the information is absolute, thus leading to the theoritical basis of this knowledge in other words, the provision of theories.

The root of this first element is made up by the theoretical foundations or theries that compose the body of knowledge. As such, what, then, is a theory? very plainly, a theory is a part of explanation which leads to the question, What is an explanation? An explanation is a sensible relating of some particular phenomenon to the 'hole field of knowledge. Therefore, one could say that a usable element for defining criminology is the offering of theories or explanations about why crime occurs, why it is the social phenomenon that it is.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OR APPROACH

Probably the most difficult or controversial element in these defini-

tions is the use of scientific study or approach. In the context of social sciences, where criminology finds itself, the concept of scientific study is often difficult for many social scientists to accept. For centuries, scientific study has been associated with the natural sciences or medicine in that it has often applied to the ability to test or experiment. Within the social sciences, testing or experimentation is often extremely difficult because what one often test is a hypothesis, an educated guess about why something is the way it is or does what it does. It has been pointed out that much has been written about the scientific approach (Conrad 1979). As a result Contrad's simple but competent definition was chosen to explain this method: "The scientific method consists of the generation of hypotheses for the explanation of perceived phenomenon and the search for the most reliable evidence to confirm or falsify these hypotheses" (1979, p. 9). Applying this to the definition of criminology extends the idea that criminology uses this approach to try to understand crime, which is that it offers hypotheses, usually in the guise of theories, to explain this social phenomenon.

If one accepts that criminology is a scientific study of crime, then we must accept that there are scientific theories. A scientific theory is best viewed as a one-of-a-kind explanation that generally makes a statement, which one may dispute, about the relationship between two types of phenomena. The outcome is to provide a theory that truly can explain the phenomenon inquestion. However, it has been advised that there are only two types of theories: spiritual and natural.

The followers of the notion of spiritual theories have a general view of life in which occurrences and events are believed to be influenced by otherworldly powers. This notion is rooted in early beliefs of satanic possession and witchcraft, which led to sacrifices or trials by battle or ordeal. Although these theories may have offered consolation to some individuals, because they cannot be disproved, they cannot be given any plausibility.

On the other hand, natural theorists tend to explain what happens through the use of objects and events. For example, Hippocrates used physiological causes, while Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle argued the influence of

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the physical and material to explain criminal behavior. Obviously there is no consensus among nautural theorists, except that spiritual theories are nonsense. The result is three ways of viewing crime from a natural perspective:

1. Criminal behavior is freely chosen; that is, individuals choose to commit criminal behavior, supporting the classical school's idea of free will.

2. Criminal behavior is caused; that is, it can be determined by factors that are beyond an individual's controls such as biological, psychological, or sociological cause (mainstays of the positive school of thought).

3. Behavior of criminal law, which concentrates on why laws are defined as such and their effects (a component of the radical school of thought).

No matter what theory is followed, the ability to examine it through scientific methodology is the key. To accomplish this, there must be a consensus about how to examine it and why. The "how" will be examined later in the chapter. The "why" is criminal behavior.

CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

A consistent element among the definitions is criminal behaviour. Basically, this is a blanket description for those activities or omissions associated with a given crime. Criminology is interested in understanding why individuals will risk being caught committing these activities or omissions and being labeled criminal. Additionally, it attempts to explain why people may commit this behavior. In retrospect, this element is easily a subelement of crime as a social phenomenon. Then again, so is the last element.

CAUSES OR INFLUENCES

The heart of the definitions of criminology tends to invole the ability to explain what causes or influences indviduals to partake in criminal behavior. It is this last element that has become one of the main thrusts of criminology. A number of hypotheses have been offered as to why individuals commit

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crime, the majority of which stem from within the three schools of thought introduced in the first chapter and to be more fully explored in the following chapter.

Clearly, the examination of various definitions provides us with at least four common elements that create the foundations for defining criminology. Yet two of those elements, criminal behavior and causes or influences, could easily be considered subcategories to crime as a social phenomenon. Therefore, the following simple yet straight forward defining of criminology is presented:

Criminology is the scientific approach to the study of crime as a social phenomenon; that is, it is the theoretical appiication involving the study of the nature and extent of criminal behavior.

It is from this perspective that other aspects of this text will be related. Furthermore, it coincides and reflects well upon the definition proposed in the previous chapter. Having established a working definition, we can now take the exploration of criminology, still from a definitional perspective, one step further.

Working from the newest definition, it can be said that a major objective of criminology is developing general and testable principles. These principles are intended to be used as building blocks for the body of knowledge relating to the process of law, crime, punishment, and treatment. To accomplish this, criminology must call upon other social sciences such as anthropology, biology, economics, history, sociology, psychology, and political science, which tends to give criminology a multidisciplinary persona. To meet the objective, several issues may be studied. They include:

1. The creation and use of laws in society. Why do we create certain laws? Who are they created for or against? Are they fair and equitable? These are just a few of the just a few of the concerns associated with this issue.

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2. Examination of the patterns of crime-Interests include who commits crime (age, gender, race), where and when crimes are committed, what trends can be identified whether by crime type, geography, economis, and so on.

3. Causation of crime and criminality- What influences , this behavior (environment, genetics, social development and the like)?

4. Societal response and reaction to criminality-Revenge, vigilantism, purchasing protective devices or services, are examples of how society responds and reacts to crime that criminology is interested in understanding.

5. The administration of justice-How fair and eguitable the police, courts, and corrections are is an important aspect to the concerns associated with this issue to criminology:

6. Custody and punishment those accused and convicted of criminality-How do we treat those who end up in jails and prisons, those who must partake in community service, or any of the other means used to deal with the accused and convicted?

I7. Treatment or rehabilation of those labeled criminal - Are we successful? Why do we fail? Can it be accomplished? These are just a few questions for which answers are sought

In this regard, criminology has come a long way toward building a general body of knowledge that focuses on social norms (rules, law), deviance (norm violations), and social control. Yet despite the effort of the discipline as a whole, individuals who study criminology-generally called criminologists - cannot reach an agreement as to (a) what should be studied, (b) who can apply the knowledge gathered, and (c) What ultimately should be achieved by the knowledge attained. The result of this disagreement has led to three speciality areas of criminological study:

1. Sociology of law, which is the understanding of how laws are created and enacted, modified, and applied

2. Criminological theory, which focuses on those who violate the law and why?

3. Penology, which is the study of punishment

3.3.FREUDIAN VIEW OF CRIME

Psychoanalytic theory shares with biological theory the search for causes of crime within the makeup of the individual. Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis is the best example for this.

Freud (1856-1939) did not write specifically about criminality. Instead, he developed a broad sweeping theory of personality that may be applied to the study of crime. Let us briefly review some of Freud's central ideas and concepts.

3.3.(a) Freud's Model of Personality Structure :

Personality	Guiding Structure	Description Principle
Id	Pleasure Principle	Unconscious biological drives. Requires instant gratification.
Ego	Reality Principle	Helps the personality refine the demands of the id. Helps person adapt to conventions.
Superego	The Conscience	The moral aspect of personality.

The human personality contains a three-part structure. The ID is the primitive part of an individual's mental make-up and represents unconscious biological drives for sex, food, and other life-sustaining necessities. The ID looks for instant gratification without concern for the rights of others.

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The **ego** is that part of the personality that compensates for the demands of the id by helping guide her/his actions to remain within the boundaries of social convention. The **ego** is guided by the reality principle.

The "superego" is the moral dimension of an individual's personality. It incorporates the moral standards of parents, community, and significant others. It passes judgments on behaviour.

3.4.PSYCHOSEXUAL STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

A human being goes through five stages of development: oral stage, anal stage, phallic stage, latency and genital stage. During these stage, eros, the most basic human drive is expressed sexually by seeking pleasure through various parts of the body. If conflicts are encountered during any of these stages, a person can become fixated at that point. As an adult, the fixated person will exhibit behaviour traits characteristic of those encountered during infantile sexual development. Thus, according to Freud, the roots of adult behaviour problems can be traced to problems developed in the earliest years of life. Criminality has been linked to abnormal mental states produced by early childhood trauma.

Crime is only a symptom of the psychic conflict between the "Id", the "ego", and the "superego". Criminals as "id"- dominated persons suffer from one or more disorders that render tnem incapable of controlling impulsive, pleasure-seeking drives. They also suffer from a malfunctioning "ego". They commit crimes because they have difficulty understanding the consequences of their actions. Overdeveloped and underdeveloped "superego" may lead a person to commit crimes. Finally, the "ego" utilizes a number of defense mechanisms in dealing with the "id". Criminal behaviour may be a kind of "ego" defense against especially threatening "id" impulses and the intense "anxiety" they produce.

3.4.(a) Psychoanalytic Theory

Psychoanalytic theory tends to attribute criminality or delinquency to any of the following causes:

Inability to control criminal drives because of a deficiency in **ego or superego** development.

Antisocial character formation resulting from a disturbed "ego" development. This occurs during the first three years of life.

An overdeveloped "superego", which makes no provision for the satisfaction of the demands of the "id".

We can further elaborate the **classical Freudian** view as follows:

1. Psychodynamically, all people are born criminals. The human being enters the world as a criminal, that is, socially not adjusted. Through socialization, he/she learns gradually to convert or transform the criminal libidinal drives into socially acceptable forms.

2. The **"Oedipus Complex"** is a fundamental psychodynamic fact that produces criminality unless it is successfully resolved. It is assumed that a youth who represses his hostility toward his father will displace his aggression elsewhere. Apparently, this explains much of the violent, aggressive or hostile behaviour of delinquent youths.

3. Uncovering unconscious motives is the fundamental task of criminology. For example, according to those who take the extreme psychoanalytic view, the use of a gun by an armed robber is considered a reaction formation to a sense of male impotence. The gun is considered a symbol of male potency. Similarly, the crime of breaking-entering and theft is considered to be displaced rape.

4. The first rebellious act or crime is committed in early childhood and is a determinant of one's. status of justice. It all starts with toilet training. If the child infringes the prescription for cleanliness, he or she is punished. The child for the first time becomes acquainted with the punishment which the world metes out to the individual transgressors.

Freudian theory remains a prevalent construct among psychiatrists treating offenders. But social workers and criminologists today tend to give

more weight to the social and environmental factors in their understanding of the causes of crime and delinquency.

Assessment

Positively:

a. The importance of early childhood experiences in influencing our later lives; and

b. The emphasis on the potential role that unconscious motivations may play in influencing our behaviour.

Negatively:

The empirical validity or verifiability of psychoanalytic explanations of crime is difficult to assess. There is no way to test psychoanalytic theory directly because the motivations are deeply hidden in the unconscious.

b. Psychiatric studies rely heavily on clinical and case studies. The cause of criminal behaviour is determined by clinical judgment and is subject to much variation among the clinicians.

c. Psychoanalytic interpretations occur after the fact and are based largely on the offender's memories of particular events or actions, especially those that occurred during early childhood.

d. Early childhood events are considered crucial, fixed and stable over time, while current or anticipated environmental and social events are seen as irrelevant or important only as triggering events for the dysfunctional behaviour.

3.5.ANTISOCIAL PERSONALITY "PSYCHOPATHY"

As a group, persons who share these traits are believed to have a character defect referred to as antisocial, psychopathic or sociopathic personality. These terms are often used interchangeably.

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The fourth edition of the official Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-4i) of the American Psychiatric Association states that "the essential feature of Antisocial Personality Disorder is a. pervasive pattern of disregard for, and violation of, the rights of others that begins in childhood or early adolescence and comes into adulthood." The diagnosis may be made when there are at least three of the following six characteristics:

1. Repeated violations of the law that are grounds for arrest;
2. Repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure;
3. Impulsivity or failure to plan ahead;
4. Repeated physical fights or assaults;
5. Repeated failure to sustain consistent work behaviour or honour financial obligations; and
6. Lack of remorse.

Hervey Cleckley, a leading authority on psychopathy described them as:

"Psychopaths are chronically antisocial individuals who are always in trouble, profiting neither from experience nor punishment, and maintaining no real loyalties to any person, group or code. They are frequently callous, and hedonistic, showing marked emotional immaturity, with lack of responsibility, lack of judgment and an ability to rationalise their behaviour so that it appears warranted, reasonable and justified".

Criminologists estimate that IQ percent or more of all prison inmates display psychopathic tendencies.

Check Your Progress

1. What is Schizophrenia
2. Briefly describe Insanity as a defence.
3. What is "Super ego"?
4. What is "Oedipus Complex"
5. Examine Bowlby's theory of Delinquency.?

3.6. BOWLBY'S THEORY OF DELINQUENCY

John Bowlby, a psychoanalyst who worked with disturbed adolescents at a clinic in London, proposed a theory to explain why children who are unloved are liable themselves to become uncaring individuals. According

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to him, separation from the main attachment figure in early life can result in delinquent behaviour because individuals who have suffered much deprivation do not consider others' feelings, so they do as they wish without consideration for the hurt they may cause. Some critics who disagree with him, argue that the hostility and apparent lack of anxiety shown by adolescents and adults who were neglected and unloved as children is an ego defence mechanism against the painful feelings of dependency and powerlessness they feel as a result of their harsh experience. Some others assert that the failure to form a bond with someone is the real reason behind an antisocial personality.

3.7.SUMMARY

We have no evidence to conclude that mental illness as such is a direct cause of crime and violence. The only theory that addresses the importance of emotional factors in criminal behaviour is the psychodynamic hypothesis. It also offers a more plausible account than most theories for crimes that have no obvious gain and are incomprehensible to the 'logically minded, such as compulsive shoplifting by the rich of items for which they have no use. Moreover, the notion that unconscious processes are an important determinant of behaviour is one that is still strongly held by significant body of psychologists.

3.8. KEYWORDS

Ego - that aspect of the personality identified by Freud as being responsible for the satisfaction of the need of the id in socially acceptable ways; it operates on the reality principle and begins to develop when we are between six and eight months old.

Id - the part of personality identified by Freud that is entirely unconscious and seeks immediate gratification of its powerful drives and instincts; it is present at birth.

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Insanity Defense - the legal defense that an offender was mentally ill at the time he or she committed the crime and therefore is not criminally responsible for his or her actions.

Psychopathy - a mental disorder in which those affected become impulsive selfish, irresponsible, callous and notable to feel guilt or to learn from punishment.

Superego - that aspect of the personality identified by Freud that is the internalization of societal values and norms; typically referre to as conscience; it develops when we are three to five years old.

3.9. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer Para 3.1. (a)
2. Refer Para 3.2
3. Refer Para 3.3.(a)
4. Refer Para 3.4(a)
5. Refer Para 3.6.

3.10. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. "Most criminals are mentally ill". -Discuss
2. Write a critical note on Freudian view of criminal behaviour.
3. What are the characteristics of Psychopathy ?

(Space for Hints)

Source Books .

1. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

2. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson,USA

3. Kodanji, K.S. (2004) A Textbook of Criminal Psychology, First Edition, Dominant Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi.

4. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

UNIT - III

LESSON - 4

CRIME AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE -I

INTRODUCTION

Criminals are not biologically inferior, intellectually impaired, or psychologically damaged. They are created by the social and economic structures in a given society. Therefore, to understand criminal behaviour, we must analyse the influence of the destructive social forces on human behaviour, like social inequalities and economic inequality, cultural conditions, and ecological realities.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To learn to appreciate the social and economic structures as the key determinants of criminal behaviour.
2. To identify the uniqueness of each of the dimensions of social structure, i.e., environmental conditions, conflicts between goals and means, and subcultural values.
3. To critically assess the theory of anomie, including institutional anomie

UNIT STRCUTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

Unit Structure

(Space for Hints)

4.1. Social Structure Theory

4.2. Social disorganisation Theory

a) The Elements of Social Disorganisation Theory.

4.3. The Chicago School.

a) Transitional Neighbourhoods.

b) Concentric Zones.

4.4. Strain Theory

a) The Basic Components of Strain Theory.

4.5. General Strain Theory.

a) Elements of G.S.T.

4.6. Anomie

4.7. Institutional Anomie Theory

4.8. Evaluating Social Structure Theory

4.9. Summary

4.10. Keywords

4.11. Answer to check your Progress

4.12. Model Questions

4.1. SOCIAL STRUCTURE THEORY

There are three independent yet overlapping branches within the social structure perspective -social disorganization, strain theory, and cultural deviance theory.

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The Three Branches of Social Structure Theory.

Social disorganization Theory focuses on conditions in the environment:	Strain Theory focuses on conflict between goals and means:
Deteriorated neighbourhoods	Unequal distribution of wealth and power
Inadequate social control	Frustration
Law-violating gangs and groups	Alternative methods of achievement
Conflicting social values	Cultural Deviance Theory combines the two.

Development of subcultures as a result of Disorganization and stress

Subcultural values in opposition to conventional Values.

CRIME

4.2.SOCIAL DISORGANISATION THEORY

Social disorganization theory links crime rates to neighbourhood ecological characteristics. It views crime-ridden communities as those in which residents are trying to leave at the earliest opportunity. Residents are uninterested in community matters; therefore, the common sources of control - the family, school, business community, social service agencies -are weak and disorganized. Personal relationships are strained because neighbours are constantly moving. Constant resident turnover weakens communications and blocks attempts at solving neighbourhood problems or establishing common goals.

4.2.(a) The Elements of social Disorganisation Theory.

1. Poverty: Development of isolated lower-class areas Lack of conventional social opportunities. Racial and ethnic discrimination

2. Social disorganization: Breakdown of social institutions and organizations such as school and family. Lack of informal social control.

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3. Breakdown of social control: Development of gangs, groups. Peer group replaces family and social institutions

4. Criminal areas: Neighbourhood becomes crime-prone Stable pockets of crime develop. Lack of external support and investment

5. Cultural transmission: Adults pass norms (focal concerns) to younger generation, creating stable lower-class culture.

6. Criminal careers: Most youth "age out" of delinquency, marry, and raise families, but some remain in life of crime.

4.3. THE CHICAGO SCHOOL

Sociology has been the primary focus of criminology since the early twentieth century, when sociologists Robert Ezra Park (1864-1944), Ernest W.Burgess (1886- 1966), Louis Wirth (1897-1952), and their colleagues were teaching and conducting criminological research in the sociology department at the University of Chicago. Their work on the social ecology of the day inspired a generation of scholars to conclude that social forces operating in urban areas create criminal interactions. This perspective came to be known as the Chicago School. Social disorganization theory was popularized by two Chicago sociologists, Henry McKay and Clifford R.Shaw, who linked life in transitional slum areas to the inclination to commit crime.

4.3. a. Transitional Neighbourhoods :-

Shaw and McKay during the early 1920s explained crime and delinquency within the context of the changing urban environment and ecological development of the city. They saw that Chicago had developed into distinct neighbourhoods, some affluent and others wracked by extreme poverty, These poverty-ridden, transitional neighbourhoods suffered high rates of population turnover and were incapable of inducing the residents to remain and defend the neighbourhoods against criminal groups.

4.3.b. Concentric Zones :-

Shaw and McKay noted that distinct ecological areas had developed in the City, comprising of a series of **"five concentric circles"** or zones and that there were stable and significant differences in interzone crime rates. The areas of heaviest concentration of crime appeared to be the transitional inner-city zones, and the zones farthest from the city's centre had correspondingly lower crime rates. In the transitional zones, multiple cultures and diverse values, both conventional and deviant, coexisted. Children growing up in the street culture often chose the deviant lifestyles. They joined other likeminded youth and formed law-violating gangs.

Beginning in the 1980s, a group of criminologists began to study ecological conditions, reviving concern about the effects of social disorganization. They emphasized the association of community deterioration and economic decline to criminality but placed less emphasis on value conflict.

Assessment:

1. Social disorganization concepts articulated by Shaw and McKay had a great influence on criminologists for a long time.

2. They depicted adult criminality and delinquent gangs as .a normal response to the adverse social conditions in urban slums.

3. The most important criticism concerns their use of police records to calculate neighbourhood crime rates.

4.4.STRAIN THEORY

Criminologists who view crime as a direct result of lower-class frustration and anger are referred to as strain theorists. Strain is limited in affluent areas because educational and vocational opportunities are available. In disorganized areas, strain occurs because legitimate avenues for success are all but closed. To relieve strain, indigent people may be forced either to use deviant methods to achieve their goals, such as theft or drug trafficking, or

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to reject socially accepted goals outright and' substitute other, more deviant goals, such as being tough and aggressive.

4.4.(a) The Basic Components of Strain Theory.

1. Poverty: Development of isolated lower-class culture. Lack of conventional social opportunities. Racial and ethnic discrimination.
2. Maintenance of conventional rules and norms: Residents of lower-class areas remain loyal to conventional values and rules of dominant culture.
3. Strain: Lack of opportunity coupled with desire for conventional success produces strain and frustration.
4. Formation of gangs and groups: Youth from law-violating groups to seek alternative means of achieving success.
5. Crime and delinquency: Methods of groups -theft, violence, substance abuse -are defined as illegal by dominant culture.
6. Criminal careers: Most youth "age out" of delinquency, marry, and raise families, but some remain in life of crime.

4.5.GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

Sociologist Robert Agnew's General strain theory (GST) helps identify individual influences of strain.

4.5.(a) Elements of General Strain Theory

Sources of strain	Negative affective states	Antisocial behaviour
Failure to achieve goals	Anger Frustration	Drug abuse
Disjunction of expectations and achievements	Disappointment	Delinquency, Violence
Removal of positive stimuli	Depression, Fear	Dropping out
Presentation of negative stimuli.		

Assessment

1. Agnew's work both clarifies the concept of strain and directs future research agenda.

2. It adds to the body of literature describing how social and life history events influence offending patterns.

3. Research efforts show that indicators of strain -family breakup, unemployment, feelings of dissatisfaction with friends and school, migration -are positively related to criminality.

4. Females experience as much strain, frustration, and anger as males, but their crime rate is much lower. Apparently, GST is not able to adequately explain gender differences in the crime rate.

4.6.ANOMIE

"Anomie" comes from two Greek words a nomos, meaning **"without norms"**. According to Emile Durkheim (1893), an anomic society is one in which rules of behaviour have broken down e.g. during periods of rapid social change such as war or famine. Such a society is not able to control human aspirations and demands. Under these circumstances, obeying legal codes may be strained, and alternative behaviour choices, such as crimes, become inevitable.

"Durkheim's ideas" were applied to criminology by sociologist **"Robert Merton"** (1957). He found that in the U.S. two elements of culture interacted to produce potentially anomic conditions: culturally defined goals and socially approved means for obtaining them. Those with little formal education and few economic resources soon find that they are denied the ability to legally acquire wealth-the preeminent success symbol. When socially mandated goals are uniform throughout society and access to legitimate means is bound by class and status, the resulting strain produces anomie among those who are locked out of the legitimate opportunity structure. Consequently, they may develop criminal or delinquent solutions to the problem of attaining

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goals. Some people steal or extort money; others retreat into drugs or alcohol; others rebel by joining revolutionary groups; and still others get involved in ritualistic behaviour by joining a religious cult.

Assessment

1. By acknowledging that society unfairly distributes the legitimate means to achieving success, anomie theory helps to understand the existence of high- crime areas and the apparent predominance of delinquent and criminal behaviour among the lower class.

2. By suggesting that social conditions, not individual personalities, produce crime, Merton greatly influenced the direction taken to reduce and control criminality during the later half of the twentieth century.

3. Merton's theory does not explain why people choose to commit certain types of crimes, E.g. why does one anomic person becomes a drug addict and another a naxalite?

4. Achieving societal goals is not a matter of social class alone; other factors, including athletic ability, intelligence, personality, religious values and family life, can either help or hinder goal attainment.

5. Anomie theory does not explain why most young criminals desist from crime as adults.

6. Anomie theory also assumes falsely that all people share the same goals and values.

4.7.INSTITUTIONAL ANOMIE THEORY

Criminologists are now producing newer versions of Merton's theory. One such theory is that of Steven Messner and Richard Rosenfeld. Their macro-level version of anomie theory views antisocial behaviour as a function of cultural and institutional influences in U.S. society. This is known as Institutional Anomie Theory.

At the institutional level, the dominance of economic concerns weakens the informal social control exerted by the family, school, and religion. These institutions have lost their ability to regulate behaviour and have become instead a conduit for promoting material success. Moreover, in the prevailing culture of competition, self- interest prevails and generates amorality, acceptance of inequality and disdain for the less fortunate.

Having set the foundation and defined the concept, we can now explore the content of criminology. Since criminology is more readily recognized as an academic discipline, to better understand it, we will examine its content as it might exist within the confines of the classroom or within an introductory criminology textbook. Therefore, the perspective or aproach taken in this chapter is one that is believed to better facilitate the introduction of the content of criminology, regardless of the arena or venue it is offered in. However, since teaching is the mainstay, this perspective must be addressed.

FROM A TEACHING PERSPECTIVE

It has been stated, "Criminology is one of the most frequently taught courses in the standard undergraduate sociology curriculum" (Rogers, 1986, p: 275). Introduction to Criminology is also the first course that students seeking to major in criminology must take. Furthermore, most criminal justice academicians would probably agree that **"Introduction to Criminology"** is among the more frequently taught subjects in a criminal justice curriculum, too.

As an important course, with respect to the disciplines mentioned, there are a number of textbooks available that pertain specifically to criminology from an introductory perspective. Despite the number of texts, there is very little difference as to the content; only the presentation may differ. As a result, while teaching style styles also differ, the teaching of criminology has been cited as "among the most challening to teach" (Rogers, 1986, p. 2:7). This is particularly true for those instructors who might not have a strong criminological background. This chapter offers two contextual ap-

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proaches for understanding criminology from a teaching perspective. The first responds to teaching criminology within the confines of an introductory criminal justice course, and the second is suggested content for an introduction to criminology course.

CRIMINOLOGY WITHIN CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Instructors with a strong criminological background may have little to no problem teaching a complete introductory criminology course. However, some instructors may find that teaching criminology within the confines of an introductory criminal justice course is not easy, especially when one wants students to get a good feel for the subject at least enough to "Whet their appetities" and perhaps create a desire for further knowledge in this area. Therefore, to satisfy all those concerned the following approch to teaching criminology in a criminal justice course is suggested.

The course can begin by advising students that criminology offers theories, concepts, and explanations about criminal behavior, emphasizing the theory aspect. While these theories could conceivably influence actions in the criminal justice system, such as a judge's sentence or a jury's verdict, it could be contended that they ultimately have little influence on the behavior of actors in the criminal justice system. One reason for this approach is that criminology offers a plethora of untested, unproven, possible explanations for criminal behaviors that are extremely difficult to apply in a practical manner. However, a caveat is that these theories (or explanations) offer a starting point for discussion and exploration into criminal behavior if members of the criminal justific system wish to pursuge that line of study.

Since there are a number of theories offered and little time to cover them all in the Introduction to Criminal Justice course format, there needs to be a simple but somewhat broad acknowledgment of the theories that exist. Therefore, grouping the theories into three categories biological, psychological, and sociological-is a good place to start. The following are suggesed contents of the three categories that could facilitate teaching and discussion.

BIOLOGICAL

Within the realm of biological theories, one might indicate that there are three main bodies of thought. They are:

1. Abnormal physical structure (for example, Lombroso believed certain physical characteristics were associated with criminality or Sheldon believed body types could be related to crime).

2. Hereditary (an inheritance of certain physical traits, such as the X Chromosome theory, and behavioral characteristics that lead to crime).

3. Biochemical (focuses upon biochemical disturbances and glandular malfunctions for inducing criminal acts)

PSYCHOLOGICAL

From the psychological perspective, one could advocate that there are three main explanations:

1. Psychoanalytical (for example, Freud's blief that criminal behavior was the result of an inadequately developed ego).

2. Cogntive development (inadequate moral development during childhood).

3. Social learning (criminals learn their behavior by modeling after behaviors of others who are criminal).

SOCIOLOGICAL.

This area can be perceived by some to be the most difficult to teach because there are veriety of theories, and it is impossible to discuss them all. Therefore, it is suggested that the following theories are among the more popular and best to discuss in such a short period:

1. Differential association (Sutherland believed that socialization with criminals produced criminality dependent upon frequency, duration, priority, and intensity).

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2. Anomie (Merton believed that criminality is the result of one's adaptation of goal attainment [cultural goals] and the means [socially approved] used to achieve these goals. Five modes of adoption include conformity ++, innovation +-, ritualism -+, retreatism - - and rebellion +- and -+).

3. Labeling (Lemert's concept of social definitions).

4. Social control (Hirschi believed that an individual who becomes bonded or attached to the norms and values of soceity will not. commit crime dimensions include attachment, commitment, belief- and in involvement).

5. Conflict (Marxist belief focuses on the people who have the political power to define crime for the rest of society).

To this point, those completely unfamiliar with the full content of a criminology course might think that this is a considerable amount of information, and it is. Imagine trying to teach all this in what usually is no more than a couple of class meetings. However, someone familiar with such a course recognizes that, at best, this information just skims the surface, but that is really all that is necessary for an introduction to criminal justice course. Still, it is far from acceptable for an introduction to criminology course, and it does not do justice to the full content of criminology.

INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINOLOGY

Although some of the following information will be repetitive, it is necessary to repeat some information to properly provide a suggested content of a criminology course as well as establish the main elements of criminology. Again, this material may be taught differently by instructors and might follow a different order or separation in an introductory textbook. However, the content itself does not change from one introductory course to another. In teaching this material, it is often easier to divide it into three sections, schools of thought, sociological criminology, and radical/contemporary crimi-

nology. That is the approach taken here, and we will begin with schools of thought.

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SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

As with most beginning sections, it is often customary to establish the foundations and bases for the remainder of the section. To ,accomplish this task,.this section is divided into three parts: criminological foundations, the classical school, and the positive school.

CRIMINOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

Criminological foundations can be viewed as the introduction to crime and criminality. Questions such as What is crime? Where does it come from? Why does it occur? and Is it truly a problem? can set the stage for the all the contents of criminology since one of its main goals is to attempt to provide answers. Furthermore, here is where defining criminology (which we will forego) can also be examined. This section may then be concluded with discussions of theory and the role of criminal law and the summation that there is no one way of viewing criminal behavior, which becomes extremely evident as the course continues. In all, this first part simply sets the table for the main entries, beginning with the foundation of criminology, the classical school.

CLASSICAL SCHOOL

The classical school of thought is best examined in four parts. It can begin with a brief introduction of the classical school and the identification of the five main points 1.Social contract, 2.free will, 3.seek pleasure and avoid pain, 4.punishment as a deterrent to crime, and 5.identical punishment for identical crime).

The second part can involve what has been recognized as the preclassical school of thought. It is here that **'Cesare Beccaria'** and a main contemporary, 'Jeremy Bentham', are introduced. With respect to Beccaria,

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his essay **"On Crimes and Punishment"** (1963) is a great place to start. On punishment, Beccaria believed that the criminal penalty should inflict just enough pain to exceed the advantage that may have been gained had the crime been successful and that there should be a certainty of punishment. On crime and punishment, it was his contention that there is a proper proportion between the crime committed and the punish-ment meted out. In short, Beccaria was more concerned with encouraging reforms in the creation and application of criminal law than the determination of what caused criminal behavior.

Bentham's belief was that the purpose of law was to produce and support the complete happiness of the communit). His take on punishment was that it should prevent crime, convince individuals to consider committing a lesser crime to ensure that,no more force than necessary was applied, and to prevent crime cheaply. His famous statement was: **"Let the punishment fit the crime"** In short, the preclassical approach was deterrence of crime.

Part three might look at what has been referred to as the Neoclassical" (more popularly referred to as the "statistical school"). Here one would discuss how this school's views centered around the beliefs that there were many causes of crime such as circumstance, poverty, and population. Its main contributor was "**a Belgian mathematician, Quetelet**", who has been identified as the first person to use objective mathematical techniques to investigate the influence of social factors on the propensity to commit crime. Some factors he studied included age, gender, season, climate, heterogeneity, professions, education, poverty, and alcohol. Quetelet's findings suggested that the greater the propensity, the greater the chances of the individual committing the crime.

Finally, the last part of this section is regarded as "contemporary" thought. For this, discussion focuses on the resurgence of the "classical school" of thought and notes that despite its strong presence in criminology today, it appears to have had little influence on criminological thought as a whole.

POSITIVE SCHOOL

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The last topic under schools of thought is the positive school This topic is best divided into three parts: introduction, biological, and psychological.

As part of the introduction, as with the dassical school, one is advised to identify the main view of the positive school and its five major tenets (“**denial of free-will**” concept, multiple causes, causes are biological and environmental, use of scientific methods to look at causes, and actions toward the criminal to correct his problem). The focus of the positive school might also provide a brief acknowledgment of the types of early positivists, such as the biocriminologists who studied the shape of the head and body; physiognomists, who studied facial features; and phrenologists, who studied the shape of the skull and bumps on the head. This part; usually concludes with an introduction to the “**Holly three**” : Lombroso, Ferri and Garofalo.

The Second area of the positive school encompasses the “Biological theories”. Within the realm of these theories, a division into “five categories” is appropriate: physical, hereditary, body type, genetics, and other. Beginning with the physical theories, Lombroso is formally introduced. The underlying theme of his theory is that there is a positive correlation between physiques and crime. It is here where discussion of his theory can be more fully explored (recall that his theory identified four types of criminals: born, atavistic, insane, and others). As previously stated, while his theories are regarded more as historical curiosities and are scientifically unprovable, he was not alone in his beliefs.

To complete the discussion of the physical theories, three of Lombroso’s contemporaries are often introduced: Goring, Garofalo, and Ferri. “Goring” was interested in the biometric method of study, applying statistical tests to the study of human characteristics, especially what he coined as “defective intelligence.” It was his belief that criminal behavior was inherited and thus, regulating or controlling families displaying certain traits-such as feeblemindedness, epilepsy, and insanity-would limit criminal behavior. In

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contrast, "Garofalo" was more interested in criminal behavior as a psychic or moral anomaly. His belief was that an individual's lack of compassion and altruism - which led to criminal behavior-was organically linked. Finally, Ferri believed that delinquency arid crime were linked to biological, social, and organic factors.

The second category, heredity, involves the study of families and criminality. The main theorists usually introduced in this section are "Dugdale" and Estabrook, who studied the "Juke family tree", finding a number of criminals and delinquent offenders, and "Goddard", who studied the "Kallikak family", finding many criminal types. The assumption was that criminality breeds criminality. While the findings were taken seriously at the time, today's understanding of heredity and criminality eliminates the idea that crime is inbred.

Several individuals advocated the body-type theories. "Kretchmer" was one of the first criminologists to link body type (physique) with criminality. He identified individuals who committed less senous crimes as "cyclothymites"-soft-skinned with little muscle. They were also labeld as kindhearted, spontaneous, and lacking sophistication. Individuals who committed more serious crimes "schizothymites" were tall and flat or wide, muscular, and strong. They were characterized as having strong reactions and being apathetic.

A second contributor to the body-type theories was "Sheldon", who claimed that there was a relationship between biological type and temperament. His three groupings included "mesomorphs"-well-developed, athletic, active, aggressive, and sometimes violent individuals; and "endomorphs" - heavily built, slow moving, and lethargic individuals; and "ectomorphs" - tall, thin, less social, and more intellectual beings.

The third members of this group were "Glueck and Glueck", who used sheldon's theory to show that mesomorphs were disproportionately criminal. Finally, the radical of the group, McCandless, found that no relationship existed. Ultimately, the physical theories gave way to the genetic theories.

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"Genetic theories" centered around biocriminological and sociobiological assumptions. The main genetic theorist was "C. Ray Jeffery", who believed that genetics was partly to blame for criminal behavior. He postulated that genetic-code (X) environment equaled brain-code (X) environment, which equaled behavior. Within the genetic theories are the XYY chromosomal controversy, where the norm is males who are 46XY and females who are 46XX. Males discovered to be 47XYY were disproportionately inclined to commit criminal behavior; rn'in studies, where it was claimed that identical twins were more often likely to share criminal behaviors than fraternal twins; and adoptive studies; which indicated that if a father was criminal, the adoptive child tended to be criminal, too. For obvious reasons, genetic theories gained very little credence in criminological thought.

A relatively new field of endeavor with respect to biological theories should not go unnoticed and can be grouped as "other." It includes biochemical factors, such as vitamin and mineral deficiency, hypoglycemia, testosterone, and allergies as influencing criminality and neurophysiological conditions, such as brain dysfunction and tumors.

It should be noted that of all the biulvgical thedries, it is perhaps the last category (other) that has some potential in today's criminological field, particularly the biochemical factors (for example, the acceptance of PMS as a legitimate chemical imbalance that can affect a woman's behavior). However, as a whole, there is very little use for biological theory in today's criminological studies.

The last set of theories revealable under the positive school are those that fall under the psycological umbrella. As with the biological theories, the psycological theories can also be subdivided into four categories: personality, psychoanalytical, latent delinquency, and other.

Beginning with personality the main theorist is Maudsley, who believed that insanity and criminal behavior were strongly linked. His contention was that crime was an outlet for unsound tendencies without which the individual would go insane and that it was hereditary. Today, insanity is not

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believed to be inherited, nor does it completely excuse a person from being punished or treated for the criminal behavior.

Probably the best known psychological theorist was sigmund Freud and his psychoanalytical contributions. Freud believed that there existed a mental conflict that was a result of incompatible elements of the personality, and crime was the result of repressed personality experiences. His central argument was that delinquency and criminal behavior resulted from a failure of effective personal controls due to faulty early training or parental neglect. Alternately, Freud believed that crime or delinqueng was symptomatic of problems in coping with a basic issue of adjustment. Ultimately, Freud blamed sexual guilt retained from one's childhood "Oedipus complex" as a link to criminality. Today, even in psychological circles, Freud's theories garner little respect.

A third theory examinable under psychological theories is Aichorn's Latent Delinquency theory. Aichorn argued that problems experienced in the first few years of life make it impossible for the child to control impulses that can linger into adulthood as a type of aggrandizing infant who displays a pleasure orientation. Tle latent delinquent is characterized by seeking just gratification, considering personal needs satisfaction as more important than relating to others, and satisfying instinctive urges without consideration of "right and wrong".

A last category of psychological theories might best be described as "other." It includes neurotic, psycotic, and psychobiological explanations. This section is best completed with a summation of psychological thought and a critique of psychological theories.

By completing the psychological theories, the discussion of the schools of thought is usually complete. This whole area of thought could be summarized as good potential for debate but limited in its applicable nature. Obviously there must be other means of explaining criminality. This is where sociological criminology is introduced.

SOCIOLOGICAL CRIMINOLOGY

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For many instructors and students of criminology, this next section might best be considered the "heart and soul" of criminological thought. It is within. this area that a majority of the criminological theories ate generally introduced. Because of the number of theories and their different approaches and foci, this section may also be divided into major subdivisions. For this purpose, there are four: 1. Social Process, 2. Social structure 3. Social re-action, and 4. Social control. Each sub division consists of a variety of theories that might be provided in a different order than what is offered here. However, this order does appear to be relatively common.

SOCIAL PROCESS

Beginning with the social-process theories, six theories are commonly found for which their consistent theme is intimacy with criminal peers breeds criminality. Again, while the order of the discussion of these theories may vary, this one begins with what is considered the foundation of social process theory, the theory of **"cultural deviance"**.

Cultural devance was the product of Shaw and Mckay's ecology of crime theory. This theory's general view was that criminal behavior is an expression of conformity to lower-class cultural values and traditions. Shaw and McKay attempted to explain crime and delinquency as a product of transition or change in the urban environment. They contended that transitional communities manifest social disorganization and maintain conflicting values and social systems. Shaw and McKay determined that environment strongly influenced criminal behavior. To support their theory, they offered what became recognized as the **"concentric circle theory"**, which takes the city of Chicago and divides it into five zones (starting with the innermost circle and moving away: (1.central Business District, 2. Area in Transition, 3. Working Men's Homes 4. Residential District, and & 5. Commuter Zone). According to Shaw and McKay, the highest crime was in zone II, the area in transition. With all theories, there are strengths and weaknesses. The strengths of this theory are that it identifies why crime rates are highest in

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slum areas and points out the factors that produce crime. Its weakness are that it does not answer the following question 1.Why does middle-class crime occur? 2. Why are some youths insulated from a delinquent career? and 3. What causes gang members to forego criminality as adults? Overall, this theory seemed to create more questions than it answered.

The next potential social-process theory one can explain is **Sellin's "culture conflict"**. The two main assumptions of this theory are:

1. Criminal law is an expression of the rules of the dominant culture; therefore, a clash may result between middle-class rules and splinter groups, such as ethnic and racial minorities who maintain their own set of conduct norms.

2. Obedience to the norms of their lower-class culture puts people in conflict with the norms of the dominant culture.

This theory is best summarized through its strengths (identifies the aspects of lower-class life that produce street crime and adds the idea of culture conflict to Shaw and McKay's theory) and weaknesses (it ignores middle-class crime completely and does not provide an adequate means of testing its theoretical premises).

"Differential association", the **third** possible social-process theory, was posited by Sutherland. It is based on the laws of learnig and includes the concept of symbolic interactionism. The basic focus is on social relations-the frequency, intensity, and meaningfulness of association rather than on the individual's qualities or traits or on the external world of concrete and visible events. Sutherland's major premise was that people learn to commit crime from their exposure to antisocial definitions; in particular, individuals will respond to the cultural standards of his or her associates, especially the intimate ones.

As with the previous theories, Sutherland's theory has its strengths and weakness, too. Its strengths include: explaining the onset of criminality, the presence of crime in all elements of social structure, and why some people

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in high-crime areas refrain from criminality. An additional strength is that it can apply to both juveniles and adults.

The theory's weaknesses include no answers to 1.Where do antisocial definitions originate? and 2. How can we measure antisocial definition or prove that someone has been exposed to an excess of them? 3. The theory also fails to explain illogical acts of violence and destruction and offers no discussion as to how to adequately test the theory.

The discussion of differential association might then be followed with a brief look at the theory of "differential anticipation". The main contributor of this theory was **Glaser**, whose major premise was that people commit crimes wherever expectation of gain from the criminal act exceed the expected losses with respect to social bonds. The strength of this theory is that combindes princeples of social bond, differential association, and classical thought. However, its weaknesses are that it has not been subjected to extensive empirical testing, and it does not explain why expectations and crime rates vary.

A **fifth social process theory**, and the last of the "differential theories is **Akers's differential reinforcement**. Akers's reinforcement. Akers's major premise was that criminal behaviour depends on the person's experiences, with rewards for conventional behaviors and punishments for deviant ones. The bottom line was that being rewarded for deviance only lead to more crime. While limited, the strengths of this theory are that it adds learning-theory principles to differential association, and it links sociological and psychological principles. The weaknesses of this theory are that it fails to explain (a) why those rewarded for conventional behavior will commit crimes and (b) why some delinquent youths do not become adult criminals despite their having been rewarded for criminal behavior.

The **last of the social-process** theories available for discussion is learning theory, whose beginnings are attributed to **Tarde' s Theory of Imitation.** Tarde noted that:

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1. Individuals in close and intimate contact with one another imitate each other's behaviors.

2. Imitation spreads from the top down.

3. New acts and behaviors are "superimposed" on old ones and subsequently act to reinforce or to discourage previous customs (what he referred to as the "Law of Insertion").

Tarde's theory is built upon by **"Bandura's social-learning theory",** which claims that people learn to be aggressive and violent through life experiences. According to **"Bandura"**, aggressive acts are often the result of modeling. He identified three princile sources or models: family members, environmental experiences, and the mass media. (At this point, particularly in the classroom setting, it is often appropriate to discuss violent acts that center around the question, what triggers them? Some possible responses are the media, physical and mental abuse, and learned traits.) Bandura's theory can be concluded by looking at the four factors he attributes to producing violent and aggressive behavior : an event that heightens arousal, aggressive skills, expected outcomes, and consistency of behavior with values.

Note that strengths and weaknesses of this theory are not discussed because the jury is still out as to the merits of this theory. On the whole, social-process theories have led to many discussions as to whether criminal behavior is learned. Yet there are those who would argue that it is one's relationship to the social structure that leads to criminality.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A second group of theories one might focus on are those that follow the idea that criminality is the result of social structure. **"Five theories"** are identified and offered in this section

1. Anomie,

2. Strain,

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3. Delinquent boys,

4. Differntial oppertunity,

5. Focal concern.

It is easiest to begin with anomie, which might well be considered the basis for the remaining theories in this section.

Before the theory of anomie can be explained, the term anomie must be defined. What is meant by anomie is lawlessness that occurs when an individual no longer identifies with normative standards of conduct. Although **"Durkheim"** is credited with being. the first to use the term in association with criminal behavior, **"Merton"** was the first person to incorporate it into a theory.

The root of anomie is anomic stress, which Merton described as the product of cultural values that counterpose a more or less common set of culturally defined goals that can be reached through socially accepted means. Based on this theory, criminal behavior is the result of an individual inability to reach those goals through the approved means. The key to Merton's theory is adaptation, for which Merton supplled a typology of modes for adaptation. Note that anomie aides in explaining the existence of high crime areas and the predominance of delinquent and criminal behavior among particular social and ethnicgroups. Yet while it manages to explain crime rates, it does not help explain particular behaviors. It is also noted that this theory led to advances in subcultural explanations of delinquency (differential opportunity and delinquent boys).

The follow-up to anomie strain theory, which focuses on an inability to reach higher gols or values because of one's economic placement in society. The prominent theorist in the development of strain theory was **Emile Durkheim**, a preeminent sociologist and cirminologist. His beliefs included that crime:

1. Is normal and nccessay, behavior.

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2. Is inevitable and linked to the differences within society,

3. Can be useful, and even "occasionally considered healthy, because the existence of crime implies that there is a way for social change and that social structure is not rigid or inflexible, and

4. Calls attention to society's ills.

Durkheim is credited with coining the phrase **"altruistic criminal"**, an individual who is offended by society's rules and seeks social change and an improved moral climate through his or her actions. He was also the first to consider that anomie or anomic strees was a cause of starin.

Returning to the extensions of anomie theory with delinquent boys theory which was introduced by "Cohen" in his 1955 text "Delinuent Boys" : The culture of the Gang - is required. The key points to Cohen's theory were that delinquency is due to status frustration, an inability to achieve success in a ligitimate manner; that delinquency is a function of the social and economic limitations suffered by less fortunate individual s; and that the lower-class youth commits crime because he is unable to meet the standards of the middle class.

Cohen idtified "three" types of behavior: 1. Corner boy, 2. College boy, and 3. Delinquent boy. The most attention is paid to the delinquent boy, who adopts norms and principles directly opposite those of middle-class society. To fulfill this role, the youth joins a gang where activities are described as nonutilitarian, malicious, negativistic, versatile, short-run hedonistic, and autonomous (group peer pressure only). This theory is best concluded by noting the problems associated with it, such as little empirical support and assumptions that lower-class youths really care what the middle class thinks or really want what the middle ciass wants.

The other extension of anomie theory is Differential Opportunity, a theory introduced by "Cloward and Ohlin" in their 1960 text, Delinquency and Oppertunity. The aim of this theory was to try and explain how delinquent male subcultures arise and persist in the lower-class areas of large

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urban cities. Their theory is based on the premise that the opportunities for lower-class youths to reach the "American Dream" (education, wealth, status) are blocked causing them to resort to illegitimate means. Cloward and Ohin observed that as an alternative to reaching the American dream, satisfaction is gained by adapting to one of "three subcultures" (gangs) 1.The criminal gang, which is the training ground for adult criminal activity, 2. The conflict gang, where fighting and territorial protection is the norm; and 3.The retreatist gang, which is content to search for kicks through alcohol drugs and sex. As with the other theories, it has its negatives and positives. However, it is one of the few theories that can be enhanced by relating it to today's gang problems.

The social structure section may be completed with a short explanation of the focal concern theory which takes a cultural deviance approach. The main view of focal concern theory is that criminality is the product of values and attitude ingrained in all elements of lower class culture. Perpctuated by **Miller,** the major premise was that the individuals who follow the street rules of lowcr-class life find themselves in conflict with the dommant culture. The strength or this theory is that it more clearly identifies the aspects of lower-class culture that push people toward criminal behavior. Its weaknesses are that it does not provide empirical support for the existence of a lower-class culture, account for middle-class influence, or explain upper-class crime.

To conclude, the social structure theories tend to have some relevancy for today's attempts to understand criminality. Still, one should be aware **"that these theories all focused on male youths"** who were drawn to gangs. This places serious limitations on the utility of these theories for current explanations of youth criminal behavior in or outside of a gang. Perhaps it is not so much social structure but rather one's reaction to society that leads to criminality.

SOCIAL REACTION

A third-phase possibility of sociological criminological thought involves two theories. **1. Labeling and 2. Commitment** to conformity, both of which

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have been designated as social-reaction theories. To begin requires an overview of what social-reaction theorists have postulated. They begin by advising that it is impossible to understand criminality merely through the study of criminals; it must be viewed in its entire social context. Social reaction theories argue that criminal behaviour can only be understood in the context of how others react to it. This includes official reactions in which individuals and events are legally defined as criminal. It has been argued that criminal behavior is defined solely by the reactions that others have to it, creating what can be referred to as a **"reactive"** definition of crime.

Social-reaction theories can best be summarized as attempting to explain the occurence of criminal behavior prior to the societal reaction on the basis of **"social disorganization"**, and additional occurrences of criminal behavior after. the societal reaction are a result of socialization. This leads to the question, Is it the reaction of an individual or of a group that influences the behavior? The two theories assist in responding to this question.

The main social-reaction theory has been recognized as **"Lemert's labeling theory"**. The main assumptions of this theory are:

1. Two types of deviance exist: primary, where crimes are situationlly induced and secondary, which is the result of labels and sanctions occurring from primary deviance.

2. Individuals will enter into a career of law violations when they are labeled for their personalities around the labels, especially if done so by significant others.

3. Labeling has two effects: creating a stigma and effecting self image.

4. Labeled individuals view themselves as deviant and will commit increasing amounts of criminal behavior.

Like the other theories, **Labeling** theory has its strength and weaknesses (1).Its strengths include explanations of the role that society has in creating deviance and why some juvenile delinquents do not become adult criminals (2).It also helps develop the concept of career criminal. The weak-

nesses are that does not explain the reason why the crime was originally committed, and it places too much emphasis on society's role.

To complement the theory of labeling, there is Briar and Piliavan's commitment to conformity theory. This theory's main assumption was that short-term stimuli that influence behavior are controlled by the individual's commitment to conventional society. This commitment is believed to help resist temptations. The positive aspects of this theory is that it can help explain both middle - and lower-class criminality and can show how control is manifested over the middle class not to commit crime. The negative side of this theory is that it fails to explain variations in crime and crime rates and why some children develop commitments and others do not.

Completing the discussion of commitment to conformity theory brings about the conclusion for social-reaction theories. At this point, a brief summary of these theories suggests that one may commit criminal behavior in response to how society reacts, but they do not offer why the behavior occurs in the first place or, for that matter, why many individuals do not commit crime. Perhaps there are certain social controls that help limit this behavior.

Social Control

The last section that will be brought forth under sociological criminology is that which introduces the social-control theories. These theories start with an assumption that human nature is the motivator for criminal behaviour. It is believed that if some type of controls did not exist; individuals would naturally commit crimes.

The **first** of the self-described control theorists, **Reiss**, argued that the failure of personal controls (the inability to refrain from meeting personal needs in ways that conflict with society's norms and rules) leads to criminality. However, he failed to consider the effect of family, environment, and community controls on an individual's behavior. Despite the obvious flaws in his thinking, Reiss's assumptions made way for **"three social -control"** theories: drift, containment and social bond.

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The drift (sometimes called neutralization) theory was proposed by "Matza and Sykes". Their main assumption was that youths learn ways to. neutralize society's moral constraints and will periodically drift in and out of criminal behavior. They contended that delinquency is essentially an unrecognized extension of **"defenses to crimes"** in a form of justifications. In other words, criminal behaviour can be rationalized by the offender but not by the legal system or society. These rationalizations can precede or follow criminal behavior and are said to serve to protect the individual from self-blame and blame of others after the act. **Matza and Sykes identified five ways** that delinquents could rationalize or neutralize their actions:

1. Denial of responsibility-which extends beyond the concept of accident and implies that the deviant act resulted from forces beyond the individual's control;

2. Denial of injury - despite being unlawful behavior, the individual does not feel that the behavior really harmed anyone;

3. Denial of Victim -again, despite being unlawful, the belief is that the victim deserved the action taken against him or her and that the act was actually a form of punishment rather than injurious;

4. Condemnation the condemners this focuses attention from the deviant act to those who have condemned it; and

5. Appeal to higher loyalties - here legal norms are replaced by a by a loyalty to other norms.

The strengths of the "drift theory" include explanations as to why many delinquents do not become adult criminals and why youthful law violators can participate in conventional behavior. The theory's weaknesses are that it fails to show whether neutralization occurs before or after the criminal behavior, explain why some youths drift and others do not, and explain self-destructive acts like alcohol and drug usage.

Another of the social-Control theories is referred to as the containment theory. The main theorist, **"Reckless"**, claimed that each person has

inner and outer controls that push toward conformity or pull toward criminality. He further contended that society produces these puhes and pulls, which can be counter acted by internal and external containments. Five elements are identified:

1. Inner containment - the individual's personality;

2. Outer containment - the constraints that society and social groups use;

3. Internal pushes - personal fctors such as restlessness, discontent, and boredom;

4. Extenal pulls - such deviant associates.

The strengths of this theory are that it brings together psycho - and socilogical principles and can explain why some people are able to resist the strongest soci·:l pressures to commit crime. It has been criticised over the methodology ·ısed to support it.

The last of the ocial-control theories is **"Hirschi's social-bond"** (Or control) theory. Its main assumption was that it is the person's bond to society that prevents him or her from participating criminal behavior. Should the bond weaken, the individual feels free to commit crime. **"Hirschi"** identified **four elements** of a bond to conventional society: attachment, commitment, invlolvement, and belief. From a positive perspective, the social-bond theory explains the onset of criminality, applies to both middle and lower-class crime, and explains it stheoretical constructs in a manner that can be measured and empirically tested. From a negative persepective, it fails to explain the differences in crime rates, show whether a weak bond can be strengthened, and distinguish the importance of different elements of the social bond (which is more important - attachment or commitment, commitment or involvement, and so on)?

Overall, social-control theories do not afford us any better explanations, as a whole, than do any of the other theories offered under the rubric of sociological criminology. Although they of ten allow for serious discus-

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sion and possible application, they still leave many unanswered questions of applicability of adults and to whether theses theories apply to today's juveniles, too, considering that most of these theories were developed in the 1950s and 1960s. This means that there must still be other possible explanations to explore, particularly theories with a more modern slant. Therefore, a last section of possible theories is provided.

RADICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CRIMINOLOGY

The last section of this chapter looks at what may be considered the newer attempts at explaining criminality, radical and contemporary theories. Despite sharing the same umbrella, each concept is discussed separately, beginning with radical criminology.

Unlike the schools of thought where application of law and punishment, biological, psychological, sociological factors, or in sociological criminology where individual and societal relation- ships are the mainstay for explaining criminal behavior, the radical criminological theories emphasize "Society" as the major influence on criminal behavior because society's powerful control the nonpowerful. The essence of radical criminology is conflict theory.

Conflict theories attempt to identify society's power relations and draw attention to their role in promoting criminal behavior. Although conflict is viewed as an essential social process upon which society depends, group interests and their influence on legislation that arise from these conflicts are linked to criminal behavior. The conflict model espouses **"three themes"**

1. The relativity of criminal definitions. (Conflict theory says that every act defined as immoral, deviant, or criminal must be viewed as tentative at best and that it is always subject to redefinition (depending on the group with the most power).

2. Control of institutions. Conflict theorists debate that there are **"three basic"** means to maintaining and enhancing society's interests: force, compromise, and the dominance of social institutions, such as law, church, schools, and government.

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3. Law as an instrument of power. Viewed as an extremely potent weapon of social conflict, whoever has control over the laws retains powers.

Conflict theory views crime criminal as the ability of those groups in power to protect themselves, and their interests, thus leading those not in power toward criminal behavior. To date, **"four conflict theories"** have been offered: Marxist, group, social reality and criminalization.

Radical Criminology

Better known as the social-conflict theory and considered the foundation of conflict theory, Marxist theory is where explaining radical criminology begins. The general views from Marxist theory are that:

- There is struggle betwen the proletariate (Working Class) and the bourgeoisie (Money).
- Political and economic philosophy of dominant class influences all aspects of life.
- Society's structure(s) are unstable and could be changed through slow and evolving violence.

Two individuals credited with Marxist theory require introductions: "Marx and Bonger". Although the theory is named after Marx, Bonger has been viewed as the earliest and best known of the conflict theorists. His six views might well be the foundation of conflict theory. Bonger had noted that:

- The abnonnal element of crime is of social and biological origin.
- The response to crime is punishment the application of penalties considered more severe than spontaneous moral condemnation.
- No act is natural immoral or criminal.
- Crimes are antisocial acts harmful to those who have the power at their comirland to control society.

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- In every society divided into ruling class and an inferior class, penal law serves "the will" of the former:
- Crime is a function of poverty.

Marx's view was that class biase are due to class division; where a capitalist society is made up of two classes - elite (bourgeoisie) and subordinates (Proletariat) - conflict is inevitable. His solution was a class-less society with the over throwing of capitalistic society and adoption of a socialistic system as the keys.

Marxist theory pulls together the views of both Bonger and Marx, offering a different view of law and behavior than any of the other schools of thought or theories previously discussed. For example, the Marxist view of law and behavior is that individuals are not naturally inclined to be either criminal or non-criminal and that the inclination toward criminal behavior is a that individuals are not naturally inclined to be either criminal or non-criminal and that the inclination toward criminal behaviour is a result of social circumstance (laws). These social circumstances are believed to encourage **altruism (which inhibits criminality)** and egoism (which encourages criminality). In examining Marxist theory, the underlying key seems to be law(s), which leads to discussing responses to the following **"five questions"**.

1. Are laws the product of political process? Marxist theorists argue yes by noting who it is that influences them.
2. Does class conflict produce law? Marxist theorists tend to believe that this is the case.
3. Does group conflict produce law? A Marxist theorist would say that it is a product of multiple interests.
4. Is there generally social consensus about laws? A Marxist theorist would claim that there is not.
5. Is a single dominant class or a number of relatively powerful, competing interest groups behind legislation and law enforcement? The Marx-

ist response would be yes, and is twofold the ruling elite, owner capitalists, and those who own the ability to manufacture and produce or the working class simply because of its numerical advantage.

In completing the examination of Marxist theory, a brief summation could center around the idea that according to this theory, the ruling elite have control that forces subordinates into criminal behavior. No discussion is complete without taking into consideration the criticisms of this theory, which include failing to look at the problems associated in establishing a socialistic society and the **differential enforcement of the laws.**

Because the remaining three conflict theories are fundamentally similar to Marxist theory, highlighting only the main points seems prudent at this juncture. Beginning with Vold, his "group-conflict theory" simply postulates that conflict between groups should be viewed as one of the principal and essential social processes upon which the continuing on going of society depends.

"Quinney", whose theory is known as the **"social - reality theory"**, advocates that conflict is intertwined with power and that differential distribution of power produces conflict, which is rooted in the competition for power. Quinney offered **"six postulates"** for explaining conflict as social reality; they included:

1. The definition of crime :- Crime is a definition of human Conduct that is created by authorized agents in a politically organized society.
2. The formulation of criminal definition:- criminal definitions describe behaviors that conflict with the interests of those segments of society having the power to shape public policy.
3. The application of criminal definition:- Criminal definitions are applied by the segments of society that have the power to shape the enforcement and administration of criminal law.
4. The development of behavior patterns in relation to criminal definition:- Behavior patterns are structured in segmentally organized society in re-

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lation to criminal definitions, and within this context persons engage in actions that have relative probabilities of being defined as criminal.

5. The construction of criminal conceptions:- Conceptions of crime are constructed and diffused in the segments of society by various means of communication.

6. The social reality of crime:- The social reality of crime is constructed by the formulation and application of criminal definitions and the construction of criminal conceptions.

Finally, there is **"Austin Turk's criminalization theory"**, whose main views center around:

The conditions under which cultural and social differences between authorities and subjects will probably result in conflict,

The conditions under which criminalization will probably occur in the course of conflict, and

The conditions under which the degree of deprivation associated with becoming a criminal will probably be greater or lesser.

Completing this discussion on Turk also completes the discussion of radical criminology, which leads into the most recent approach to criminological theory grouped under the label contemporary.

Contemporary Criminology

Unlike all the previous main segments, in introducing this segment it is difficult to provide a synopsis of contemporary theories because it is still so new that there really is not a major theme that runs through them. Realistically, to date, contemporary theory is still trying to define itself and find its place in criminological thought. For the purpose at hand, note that there are not yet any theories to offer, only explorations of criminality previously ignored in criminological studies that could conceivably become theories. The two areas most identifiable for this segment are "routine activity" and "Female criminality".

The concept of routine theory was brought forth by **Cohen and Felson,** who believe that changes in routine activities of everyday life can lead to criminality. They contend that the structure of such activities influences criminal opportunity and therefore affects trends in a class of crimes, which they label as direct-contact predatory violations-illegal acts where an individual definitively and intentionally takes or damages the person or property of another. Their argument rests on the belief that structural changes in routine activity patterns can influence crime rates by affecting the convergence in space and time of the three minimal elements of direct-contact predatory violations: motivated offenders, suitable targets, and absence of capable guardians against a violation. Their ultimate conclusion is that criminality is given.

The other area deserving attention is **"Female criminality"**. Historically, women have been ignored in criminological thought. Although the reasons are obvious- their low rates of criminal and delinquent behavior, and most criminological theorists have been males female criminality cannot be ignored. The early theoretical work that has been attributed to female criminality can be viewed as individualist-that is, focusing on the physiological psychological and inherent nature of women which is believed to be universal. However, in exploring more recent endeavors to explain female criminality, some underlying themes are discovered that include: the woman's perversion of or rebellion against their natural roles; their work: related roles in society as being more service oriented; linking sexuality, which is seen as the root of female behavior and the problem with criminal behavior; that criminality may be a response to the need for equality or an attempt to become less feminine and more masculine; and that criminal behavior is biologically, psychologically, and sociologically influenced.

Since it is a new and growing area, this view remains extremely flexible and open for new information. It can be concluded with the thought, What should be the focus of current criminologists. A consistent response or inquiry to this is the environment, particularly poverty, which is often touted as a reason for crime. In response, the following is offered.

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Check Your Progress

1. Examine social Disorganisation theory?
2. Examine the contribution of Chicogo School.
3. What was done by Shaw and Mackay?
4. Explain Strain theory.?
5. What is Anomie ?
6. Examine newer version of Martons theory.

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It is suggested that among all the possible environmental factors, poverty is the one that has been most attributed to crime; and criminal behavior. Therefore, the most obvious question is, Does poverty cause crime? Before an answer can be sought, it helps to know what is meant by poverty. Simply cut, poverty refers to the inability to procure or meet an economically; defined level of income that allows for minimal survival and well-being. For example, at the time of this writing, the poverty level in the United States as below $15,600 for a family of four members. A key component of poverty seems to be unemployment. Those few studies that have been attempted examined either poverty or unemployment. The results are ambiguous at best.

A curious point is knowing why these studies are so inconsistent. One plausible explanation is that most of these studies, may be methodologically flawed because of terminology. Consider that that while poverty is more readily recognized, researchers of this phenomenon as it relates to crime also need to contemplate these terms: economic inequality and relative deprivation.

Because meterialims is a strong part of our American Culture, criminologists should compare the level of those who have little in the way of material belongings to the level of others in society, thus recognizing economic inequality. Relative deprivation is the result of the economic inequality combined with resentment and a sense of injustice among those who have the least in society. This relative deprivation could conceivably have greater influence on criminality than poverty. With the addition of these terms to the mix, it opens up a whole new approach to whether poverty is really a true influence on crime.

At this point two things should be clear, that (a) teaching criminology requires an extensive knowledge of theory, reserch, and policy, and (b) as a field of study, criminology offers a broad array or possibilities for explaining criminal behaviour. In either case, simply knowing criminological thought is not enough to truly understand criminal behavior. Obviously there is more to it than meets the eye. Perhaps that is where criminal justice comes in.

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4.8.EVALUATING SOCIAL STRUCTURE THEORIES

1. The social structure approach has significantly influenced both criminological theory and crime prevention strategies.
2. Its core concepts seem to be valid even today.
3. We cannot be sure that it is lower-class culture itself that promotes crime and not some other force operating in society, e.g. the media.
4. The lower-class crime rates may be an artifact of bias in the criminal justice system.
5. Most members of the lower-class are not criminals, and a relatively small portion of the population commits most crimes.
6. It is also questionable whether a distinct lower-class criminal culture actually exists.

4.9.SUMMARY

Social structure theories suggest that people's places in the socioeconomic structure of society influence their chances of becoming criminals. Social structure theory has three schools of thought, each emphasizing a different and significant dimension: conditions in the environment, conflict between goals and means, and subcultural values.

4.10.KEYWORDS

Anomie - a social condition of inadequate or inappropriate social control caused by sudden and rapid social change (Durkheim); the disparity between cultural goals and legitimate means to attain them (Merton).

Chicago School- a school of thought developed at the turn of the twentieth century by sociologists at the University of Chi-

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cago who believed social problems such as crime were caused by the social disorganization characteristic of inner-city areas.

Concentric Zones - distinct ecological areas in a city, comprising a series of five concentric circles or zones, showing stable and significant differences in interzone crime rates. The zones farthest from the city's center have lowest crime rates, while the inner-city zones have the heaviest concentration.

Cultural Deviance theory- a variation of structural theory, which combines elements of both strain and social disorganization.

Institutional Anomie -It is a macro-level version of anomie. It refers antisocial behaviour as a function of cultural and institutional influences in developed societies.

Mechanical solidarity -a characteristic of pre-industrial society, which is held, together traditions, shared values and unquestionable, beliefs.

Organic solidarity - a characteristic of post-industrial social systems, which are highly developed and dependent upon the division of labour; people are connected by the interdependent needs for each other's services and production.

Social disorganization -the instability caused by rapid social change, characteristic of inner-city areas in which culturally dominant values and norms compete with each other, sometimes illegitimate values and norms. This leads to a breakdown in social cohesion.

Social Structure Theory- a criminological perspective that holds that the disadvantaged economic class position is a primary cause of crime.

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Strain — When members of the lower class are unable to achieve the symbols of success through conventional means, they feel anger, frustration and resentment. This is referred to as strain.

Strain theory — a branch of social structure theory, which holds that crime is a function of the conflict between the goals people have and the means they can use to legally obtain them.

Transitional Neighbourhoods- those poverty -ridden urban areas which are characterised by high rates of population turn-over, and incapacity to induce residents to re-main and defend their neighbourhoods against criminal groups.

4.11. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer.Para. 4.2
2. Refer.Para.4.3.
3. Refer.Para 4.3.(b)
4. Refer.Para.4.4.
5. Refer.Para 4.6
6. Refer.Para. 4.7

4.12. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. "Criminals are created by the social and economic structures of society" - Discuss.
2. Enumerate and explain the elements of Social Disorganisation Theory.
3. What are the basic components of General Strain Theory?

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UNIT - III

LESSON-5

CRIME AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE -II
SUBCULTURAL THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

In this lesson, we shall discuss the subcultural theories as developed by Albert Cohen, Walter B.Miller, Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti and Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the concept of "sub-culture".
2. To discover the process of gang delinquency .
3. To understand Cloward and Ohlin's "Differential opportunity theory."

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

Unit Structure

5.1. Albert Cohen's Theory of the delinquent Sub - Culture

a) The Cornor Boy

b) College boy

c) The delinquent boy

5.2. Miller's Lower - Class gang delinquency

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5.3. Wolfgang and Ferracuti's "The subculture of Violence Theory"

5.4. Cloward and Ohlin's "Theory of differential opportunity"

a. What is differental opportunity.
   i) Criminal Gangs
   ii) Conflict Gangs
   iii) Retreatist Gangs

5.5. Summary

5.6. Keywords

5.7. Answers to Check Your Progress

5.8. Model Questions.

5.1.THEORY OF DELINQUENT SUBCULTURES

Albert Cohen first articulated the theory of delinquent subcultures in his classic book Delinquent Boys. (1955) He viewed the delinquent gang as a separate subculture, possessing a value system directly opposed to that of the larger society. He describes subculture as one that "takes its norms from the larger culture, but turns them upside down. The delinquent's conduct is right by the standards of his subculture precisely because it is wrong by the norms of the larger cultures".

Cohen believes lower-class boys who suffer rejection by middle-class decision makers usually elect to join one of three existing subcultures: the corner boy, the college boy or the delinquent boy.

a) The Corner Boy :-

The corner boy is not a chronic delinquent, but may be a truant who engages in petty or status offenses. His main loyalty is to his peer group. He takes shelter in the comforting world of his peers and eventually becomes a stable member of his neighbourhood, holding a job, marrying, and remaining in the community.

(b) The College Boy :-

The college boy embraces the cultural and social values of the middle class. He is embarking on a hopeless path, since he is ill-equipped academically, socially and linguistically to achieve the rewards of middle-class life.

(c) The delinquent Boy :-

The delinquent boy adopts a set of norms and principles in direct opposition to middle-class values. He may join a gang and strive for group autonomy. Delinquent The boys resist efforts by family, school, or other sources of authority to control their favours behaviour. They are willing to take risks, violate the law, and flout middle-class participat conventions.

Assessment

1. Cohen's work helps explain the factors that promote and sustain a delinquent subculture.

2. His theory clarifies that social forces and not individual traits pro mote and, sustain a delinquent subculture. who shy,

3. By introducing the triad -the corner boy, the college boy and the delinquent boy -he affirms that there are more than one social path open to indigent youth.

4. His work is skillful integration of strain and social organization theories and has become an enduring element of the criminological literature.

5.2.MILLER'S DELINQUENT GANGS

"Walter B.Miller" (1958), like Cohen, studied the delinquent gangs, but in the lower-class community itself. What is the content of the lower-class cultural system? Miller identified six focal concerns of this class as follows:

(Space for Hints)

1. Trouble

This has a variety of meanings: unwelcome involvement with police or other officials; fighting or sexual adventures (for men); sexual activity resulting in unwanted pregnancy (for women). Getting into and staying out of trouble are major preoccupations of all lower-class people.

2.Toughness

The most important aspects of toughness are physical prowess and bravery in the face of physical threat.

3.Smartness

It refers to one's ability to avoid being outwitted and duped. It is one's street sense.

4. Excitement

This involves the search for thrills or flirting with danger and taking risks, often through drinking, fighting and sexual exploits.

5. Fate

This is the idea that one's life is determined by forces over which one has no control.

6. Autonomy

Resistance to control of one's life by others and a desire for independence.

According to Miller, certain social conditions prevalent in lower-class conventio communities combine with lower class focal concerns to produce gang delinquency.

5.3. WOLFGANG AND FERRACUTI'S 1967 "THE SUB-CULTURE OF VIOLENCE THEORY"

The sub-culture of violence is a set of attitudes or social expecta-

tions that favours the use of violence in a variety of situations. It includes a willingness to participate in violent activity, to expect violence and to be ready to retaliate against others. The more integrated an individual is into the subculture of violence, the more likely that person is to resort to violence.

In the lower-class households and communities, life has less value. Physical punishment of children is routine, and quick resort to physical combat as a measure of daring, courage or defense of status appears to be a cultural expression, especially for the lower-class males. Overt expression of violence is rewarded and individuals who shy away from physical confrontation are ridiculed and ostracized. The subculture of violence is passed on fro.m generation to generation and reinforced in everyday interaction.

Therefore, a subculture is a patterned way of life similar in some ways to but different from the dominant culture of a society. It includes specific standards of behaviour that are learned and transmitted from generation to generation. The process of transmission is the same, but the content is different between the dominant and subcultures. Violence in a subculture is rarely accompanied by guilt, because violence is not considered wrong or deviant.

5.4. THEORY OF DIFFERENTIAL OPPORTUNITY BY CLOWARD AND OHLIN

Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin agreed with Cohen and found that independent subcultures exist within society. They consider a subculture to be one in which certain forms of delinquent activity are essential requirements for performing the dominant roles supported by the subculture. They present their views in Delinquency and, Opportunity, written 40 years ago. Youth gangs are an important part of the delinquent subculture. Delinquent gangs spring up in disorganized areas where youth lack the opportunity to gain success through conventional means.

5.4.(a) Differential Opportunities

The centerpiece of their theory is the concept of differential opportu-

nity, which states that people in all strata of society share the same success goals but that those in the lower class have limited, means of achieving them. People who perceive themselves as failures within conventional society will seek alternative or innovative ways to gain success e.g. form or join a gang. Gang members provide the emotional support to handle the shame, fear, or guilt they may develop while engaging in illegal acts. Delinquent subcultures then reward these acts that conventional society would punish. Cloward and Ohlin conclude that all opportunities for success, both illegal and conventional, are closed for the 'truly disadvantaged' youth

Because of differential opportunity, youth are likely to join one of the following gangs:

5.4.(a). 1.Criminal gangs:

Young people are recruited into established criminal gangs that provide a training ground for a successful criminal career. To become a fully accepted member of the criminal gang, novices must prove themselves reliable and dependable in their contacts with their criminal associates.

5.4.(a). 2. Conflict gangs:

Conflict gangs develop in communities unable to provide either legitimate or illegitimate opportunities. These communities are highly their disorganized. There are no successful adult criminal role models. Violence is used as a means of gaining status. The image of ther conflict gang member is the swaggering, tough adolescent who figts with weapons to win respect from rivals and engages in unpredictable and destructive assaults on people and property. Conflict gangs represent a way of securing access to the scarce resources for adolescent pleasure and opportunity in underprivileged areas.

5.4.(a) 3.Retreatist gangs:

Retreatists are double failures, unable to gain success through legitimate means and unwilling to do so through illegal ones. Some retreatists have tried crime or violence but are either too clumsy, weak, or scared to

be accepted in violent or criminal gangs. They then retreat into a role on the fringe of society.

(Space for Hints)

Assessment

1. This theory integrates cultural deviance and social disorganisation concepts and recognized different modes of criminal adaptation.

2. Their view that criminal cultures can be supportive, rational and profitable seems to be a realistic reflection of the actual world of the delinquent.

5.5.SUMMARY

The subcultural and opportunity theories express the powerful role of learning particular ideas and skills ,which may playa part in individual's likelihood to engage in crime. The formation of gangs have been explained as a result of such learning and grouping.

5.6.KEYWORDS

Differential Opportunity -the notion that illegitimate opportunities, like legitimate ones, are not equally open to all individuals in society; members of some groups have greater access to criminal opportunities, just as members of other groups have greater access to legitimate opportunities.

Differential opportunity theory - a theory that states that people in all strata of society share the same success goals but that those in the lower class have limited means of achieving them.

Focal concerns -the concerns that dominate life among the lower class and define their unique value system.

Lower - class areas -scenes of inadequate housing and health care, disrupted family lives underemployment, abject poverty and despair; mainly slum areas known for their culture of poverty, which is marked by apathy, cynicism, helplessness, and mistrust of social institutions such as schools, and government agencies.

Check Your Progress

1. Examine Albert Cohen's Theory.
2. Examine Miller's Delinquent Gangs
3. What is Sub-Culture of Violence Theory
4. What do you mean by Differential opportunity.

(Space for Hints)

Status frustration - a form of culture conflict that results from social conditions that make the lower class youth incapable of achieving success legitimately.

5.7. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRSS

1. Refer. Para. 5.1
2. Refer. Para. 5.2.
3. Refer Para. 5.3.
4. Refer. Para. 5.4.(a)

5.8. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Briefly describe Cohen's theory of the delinquent subculture?
2. Miller identified six focal concerns of the lower-class cultural system. What are they? Explain.
3. Define the subculture of violence as presented by Wolfgang and Ferracuti.
4. Write a note on Cloward and Ohlin's theory of differential opportunity.

Source Books

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson, USA

c. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

UNIT - IV

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES :

LESSON-6

CRIME AND SOCIAL PROCESS -I

INTRODUCTION

Social Process theories hold that all people, regardless of their race, class, or gender, have the potential to become delinquents or criminals. Although the lower class may have the added burdens of poverty, racism, poor schools and disrupted family lives, these social forces may be counteracted by positive peer relations, a supportive family and educational success. In contrast, even the most affluent members of society may turn to antisocial behaviour if their life experiences are intolerable or destructive. In other words, it is socialization in all its dimensions, not the social structure that determines life courses. In this lesson, we shall focus on the "process of socialization" and on "social learning theories".

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To assess the- effects of socialization on crime.
2. To appreciate the usefulness of **"Differential Association Theory"** in understanding criminal behaviour.
3. To grasp the significance of the social processes explained in the **"Differential Reinforcement"** and **"Neutralisation Theories"**.

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UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

Unit Structure

6.1. Socialisation and Crime

a. Family Relations

b. Child Abuse

c. Educational Experience

d. Peer Relations

e. Institutional Involvement and Belief.

6.2. Social Learning Theory

1. Differential Association Theory

a. Main Principles D.A.T.

6.3. Differential Reinforcement Theory

6.4. Neutralisation Theory

a. Techniques of Neutralisation

6.5. Evaluating Social Learing Theories.

6.6. Summary

6.7. Keywords

6.8. Answers to check Your Progress.

6.9. Model Questions.

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6.1.SOCLALISATION AND CRIME

a. Family Relations

In the criminological literature, family relationships have been considered a major determinant of behaviour. Children and youth who grow up in households characterized by conflict and tension, where parents are absent or separated, or where there is a lack of familial love and support, are susceptible to the crime- promoting forces in the envirolment. At one time, growing up in a broken home was considered a primary cause of criminal behaviour. Today, we believe that family discord and conflict are more important than family structure.

b. Child Abuse

There is also a suspected link between child abuse, neglect, sexual abuse and crime. Children who are subject to even minimum amount of physical punishment may be more likely to use violence themselves in personal interactions.

c.Educational Experience

Children and youth who fail in school, lack educational motivation and feel alienated are the most likely to engage in criminal acts. In contrast, doing well school and developing attachments to teachers has been linked to crime resistance.

4.Peer Relations

The peer group has a powerful effect on human conduct and can have a gre at influence on decision making and behaviour choices. This has been recorded in different cultures and may be a universal norm. Delinquent peers often exert tremendous influence on behaviour, attitudes, and beliefs. Positive peers guide each other, and help their friends to share and cooperate, cope with aggressive impulses, and discuss feelings they would not dare bring up at home.

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e. Institutional Involvement and Belief

It was thought that people who hold high moral values and beliefs, who have learned to distinguish right from wrong, and who regularly attend religious services would be law abiding and free from antisocial and criminal activity. But today, even though organised religion may bind people of the same religion together, this bond and force is used to fight against the members of another religion and carry out criminal acts. Communalism, terrorism and even genocide in today's world art glaring examples.

Conclusion

It is socialisation, not the social structure that determines life chances and choices. People living in even the most deteriorated urban areas and poorest rural pockets can successfully resist inducements to crime if they have a positive self-image, learn moral values and have the support of their parents, peers, teachers and neighbours.

The social process approach has several independent branches: Social learning theory, social control theory and social reaction (labelling) theory.

Social Learning Theory: Criminal behaviour is learnt through human interaction.

Social Control Theory: Human behaviour is controlled through close associations with institutions and individuals.

Social Reaction Theory: Some people are **'labelled'** criminal by police and court authorities; labelled people are known as troublemakers, criminals, etc. and are shunned by conventional society.

6.2.SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

According to this theory, crime is a product of learning the norms, values and behaviours associated with criminal activity. The three most prominent forms of social learning theory are: Differential Association Theory, Differential Reinforcement Theory and Neutralisation Theory.

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6.2. 1) Differential Association Theory

The preeminent U.S.criminologist, Edwin H.Sutherland (1883-1950) first put forth his theory in 1939 in his text, Principles of Criminology. The final version of the theory appeared in 1947. When Sutherlad died in 1950, Donald Cressey continued his work. To Sutherland, criminality stemmed neither from individual traits nor from socioeconomic position; instead, he believed it to be a function of a learning process that could affect any individual in any culture. He explains his theory as follows:

a. Main Principles of Differential Association Theory

1. Criminal behaviour is learned. Criminal behaviour is not inherited.

2. Learning is a by-product of interaction.

3. Learning occurs within intimate groups. Impersonal agencies of communication media, such as movies, newspapers, TV, Internet etc. playa relatively unimportant part in the genesis of criminal behaviour.

4. Criminal techniques are learned. When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime and (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes.

5. Perceptions of legal code influence motives and drives. In some societies and individual is surrounded by persons who invariably define the legal codes as rules to be observed, while in others he is surrounded by persons whose definitions are favourable to the violation of the legal codes.

6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violations of law. When persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal patterns and also because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns.

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7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity.

8. While criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behaviour also is an expression of the same needs and values.

In short, criminal behaviour is learned in a process that is similar to learning any other human behaviour.

Assessment

1. Several notable research efforts have supported the core principles of this theory. There seems to be a correlation between having deviant friends, holding deviant attitudes and committing deviant acts.

2. This theory also seems especially relevant in trying to explain the onset of substance abuse and a career in drug trade, that is, learning proper techniques and attitudes from an experienced user or dealer.

3. This theory may also be used to explain the gender difference in the crime rate. Males are more likely to socialise with deviant peers than females, and when they do, are more deeply influenced by peer relations. Females are shielded by their unique moral sense, which makes caring about people and avoiding social harm a top priority.

4. It provides a consistent explanation to all types of delinquent and criminal behaviour.

5. "This theory fails" to explain why one youth who is exposed to delinquet definitions eventually succumbs to them, while another, living under the same conditions, is able to avoid criminal entanglements.

6. It assumes criminal and delinquent acts to be rational and systematic, This lignores spontaneous and wanton acts of violence and damage that appear to have little utility or purpose, such as psychopathic killing or serial rapist.

6.3.DIFFERENTIAL REINFORCEMENT THEORY

This is yet another attempt to explain crime as a type of learned behaviour. First proposed by **"Ronald Akers"** in collaboration with Robert Burgess in 1966, it is a version of social learning view a employs both differential association concepts along with elements of **"psychological learning"** theory.

1. The same process is involved in learning both deviant and conventional behaviour.

2. People learn to be neither 'all deviant' nor 'all conforming' but rather strike a balance between the two opposing poles of behaviour,

3. A number of learning processes shape behaviour like direct conditioning or differential reinforcement through reward or punishment.

4. People learn to evaluate their own behaviour through their interactions with significant other or groups in their lives.

5. These groups control sources and patterns of reinforcement, define behaviour as right or wrong, and provide behaviours that can be modelled through observational learning.

6. The deviant behaviour, originally executed by imitating someone else's behaviour, is sustained by social support within the group.

Assessment

1. This theory considers how the content of socialization conditions crime. It accounts for the fact that negative social reinforcements and experiences can produce criminal results.

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2. Akers's work fits well with rational choice theory because they both suggest that people learn the attitudes and techniques necessary to commit crime. After considering the outcome of their past experiences, potential offenders decide which criminal acts will be profitable and which are dangerous and should be avoided.

6.4.NEUTRALISATION THEORY

This theory is identified with the writings of "David Matza" and Gresham Sykes. They view the process of becoming a criminal as a learning experience in which potential delinquents and criminals master techniques that enable them to counterbalance or neutralise conventional values and drift back and forth between illegitimate and conventional behaviour.

Matza argues that even the most committed criminals and delinquents are not involved in criminality all the time; they also attend schools, family functions, religious services etc. Their behaviour' can be conceived as falling along a continuum between total freedom and total restraint. This process, which he calls drift, refers to the movement from one extreme of behaviour to another, resulting in behaviour that is sometimes unconventional, free or deviant and at other times constrained and sober. Criminality is, therefore, the result of the neutralization of accepted social values through the learning of a standard set of techniques that allow people to counteract the moral dilemmas posed by illegal behaviour.

Learning techniques of neutralization enables a person to temporarily **'drift away'** from conventional behaviour and get involved in more subterranean values and behaviours including crime and drug abuse.

Subterranean values are morally tinged influences that have become entrenched in the culture but are publicly condemned. They exist side by side with conventional values and while condemned in public may be admired or practised in private. Few people are 'all good' or 'all bad'. Criminals sometimes voice a sense of guilt over their illegal acts. They frequently respect and admire honest, law-abiding citizens. They draw a line between

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those whom then can victimize and those whom they cannot. They are not immune to the demands of conformity.

Techniques of Neutralisation

1. **Denial of responsibility :** Young offenders sometimes claim that their criminal acts resulted from forces beyond their control.

2. **Denial of injury :** Denying the wrongfulness of a criminal act.

3. **Denial of victim:** By maintaining that the victim of crime 'had it coming'.

4. **Condemnation of the condemners:** By shifting the blame to others, criminals are able to repress the feeling that their own acts are wrong.

5. **Appeal to higher loyalties:** Loyalty to their peer group takes precedence over the rules of society.

Assessment

1. This theory is major contribution to the literature of crime and delinquency.

2. It can account for the aging-out process. Youth can forego criminal behaviour as adults.

3. People who remain criminals as adults may use newly learned techniques to neutralize the wrongfulness of their actions and avoid guilt.

6.5.EVALUATING SOCIAL LEARNING THEORIES

1. Learning theories, unlike social structure theories, are not limited to the explanation of a single facet of antisocial activity; they may be used to explain criminality across all class structures. Even corporate executives may be exposed to a variety of procriminal definitions and learn to neutralize moral constraints.

Check Your Progress

1. How Family Relations are cause for crime
2. How Religious Institution is a cause for crime
3. What are the main Principles of Differential Association Theory.
4. Examine "Differential Re-inforcement Theory"
5. What is the Contribution of "David Matz"

(Space for Hints)

2. Critics point out that the learning theorists fail to account for the origin of criminal definitions.

3. Learning theorists fail to adequately explain spontaneous and wanton acts of violence and damage and other crimes that appear to have little utility or purpose.

4. They do not explain how people learn the techniques tPiat enable them to become criminals before, they actually commit criminal acts.

6.6. SUMMARY

We are the product of our socialisation. We learn criminal behaviours much as we learn conventional behaviour. The three theories we have considered describe this social process from different perspectives. Differential association theory of Sutherland holds that criminality is a result of a person's perceiving an excess of definitions in favour of crime over definitions that uphold conventional values. Ronald Akers has reformulated Sutherland's theory using psychological learning theory. Sykes and Matza's theory of neutralization stresses youth's learning of behaviour rationalizations that enable them to overcome societal values and norms and engage in illegal behaviour.

6.7. KEYWORDS

Agents of socialization. -individuals, groups and institutions that have as one of their primary functions the socialization of members of a society by providing explicit instruction in or modeling of social expectations.

Differential association - the process of social interaction by which individuals acquire definitions favourable and unfavourable to law violation.

Differential reinforcement -the process by which deviant or conforming behaviour is acquired and internalized through past and present rewards and punishments attached to one form of behaviour relative to those attached to the alternative behaviour.

Drift - the process of vacillation along the behavioural continuum of total freedom versus total constraint.

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Socialisation -the process of social interaction through which a society's culture is taught and learned and human personalities are developed.

Techniques of Neutralisation - a priori justifications or rationalizations that legitimate and, therefore, facilitate deviation.

6.8. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer. Para. 6.1
2. Refer. Para. 6.1.e.
3. Refer. Para. 6.2.1. (a)
4. Refer. Para. 6.3.
5. Refer. Para. 6.4

6.9. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Describe the elements of socialisation process and its effects.
2. Critically comment on the main principles of Sutherland's **differential association theory.**
3. In what way does Akers' differential reinforcement theory differ from Sutherland's theory?
4. What is meant by drift? How is it associated with the process of neutralization.

Source Books

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson, USA

c. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

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UNIT - IV

LESSON -7

CRIME AND SOCIAL PROCESS -II

INTRODUCTION

In this lesson, we continue our reflection on crime and social process. In particular, we focus our attention on Hirschi's social control or bond theory and social reaction or Becker's lebelling theory.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To assess the strength of social ties or bonds in controlling deviant behaviour.
2. To understand how self-control and self-esteem are related to criminal behaviour.
3. To get an insight into the lebelling process and estimate its consequences.

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objectives

Unit Structure

7.1. Hirschi's Social Control - Theory.

a) Elements of Social Control.

(Space for Hints)

7.2. Social Reaction Theory

7.3. Differential Enforcement.

7.4. The Labelling Process

7.5. Consequences of Lebelling

a) Stigma

b) Reflective Role - taking

c) Joining deviant Cliques

d) Retrospective Reading

(e) Dramatisation of Evil

(f) Primary and Secondary Deviance

7.6. Self - Control and Crime

7.7. Self - Esteem and Crime

7.8. Lebelling - Important Contributions

7.9. Summary

7.10. Keywords

7.11. Answers to Check Your Progress.

7.12. Model Questions

7.1. SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY

People's behaviour, including criminal activity, is controlled by their commitment to conventional institutions, individuals and processes. If that commitment is absent, they are free to violate the law and engage in deviant behaviour. Those who are uncommitted are not deterred by the threat of legal punishments.

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Social Bond Theory (also called **Social Control** Theory), articulated by **"Travis Hirschi"** in his book, Causes of Delinquency (1969), is now the dominant version of control theory.

Hirschi links the onset of criminality to the weakening of the ties that bind people to society. He assumes that all individuals are potential law violators, but they are kept under control because they fear that illegal behaviour will damage their relationships with friends, parents, neighbours, teachers and employers. Without these social ties or bonds, and in the absence of sensitivity to and interest in others, a person is free to commit criminal acts. Among all ethnic, religious, racial and social groups, people whose bond to society is weak may fall prey to crimogenic behaviour patterns.

9.1.(a) Elements of the Social Bond

1. Attachment: This refers to a person's sensitivity to and interest in others.

2. Commitment: This involves time, energy and effort expended in conventional lines of action, such as getting an education and saving money for the future.

3. Involvement: When people get involved in school, recreation and family, they will be insulated from the potential lure of criminal behaviour, whereas idleness

4. Belief: People who live in the same social setting often share common moral powerle beliefs; they may adhere to such values as sharing, sensitivity to the rights of member others, and respect for the legal code. If these beliefs are absent or weakened, individuals are more likely to participate in antisocial or illegal acts.

Assessment

1. One significant criticism **concerns Hirschi's contention** that delinquents are detached loners whose bond to their family and friends has been broken., This is not true to reality. The friendship patterns of delinquents seem quite close to those of conventional youth.

(Space for Hints)

2. Not all elements of the bond are equal. Hirschi makes little distinction between the importance of each element of the social bond.

3. Hirschi's conclusion that any form of social attachment is beneficial, even to deviant peers and parents, has also been disputed. Attachment to deviant family members, peers and associates may motivate youth to commit crime and continue their criminal career.

4. Hirschi's theory does not seem to explain all modes of criminality. Therefore, it is restricted in scope when it comes to explaining all types of crimes.

5. Social bonds seem to change over time, a phenomenon ignored by Hirschi.

6. Inspite of all these criticisms, for many criminologists, it is perhaps the most important way of understanding the onset of youthful misbehaviour.

7.2. SOCIAL REACTION THEORY OR LABELLING PERSPECTIVE

Social reaction theory is commonly called labelling theory. Labelling theory uses an interactionist definition of crime. "Deviance is not a property inherent in certain from forms of behaviour, it is a property conferred upon those forms by the audience which directly or indirectly witnesses them". (Kai Erickson) Crime and deviance, therefore, are defined by the social audience's reaction to people and their behaviour and the subsequent effects of that reaction; they are not defined by the moral content of the illegal act itself. "The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label". (Howard Becker) A social reaction theorist views crime as a subjective concept whose definition is totally dependent on the viewing audience.

The content of law, too, reflects power relationships in society. Crime is defined by those in power. The shape of the criminal law is defined by the values of those who rule and not by an objective standard of moral conduct.

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7.3.DIFFERENTIAL ENFORCEMENT

An important principle of social reaction theory is that the law is differentially applied benefiting those who have economic and social power and penalizing the powerless. Police officers are more likely to formally arrest males, minority group members and those in the lower class and to use their discretionary powers to give beneficial treatment to more favoured groups. Minorities and the poor are more likely to be prosecuted for criminal offenses and receive harsher punishments when convicted. Judges may sympathise with white defendants and help them avoid criminal labels, whereas minority youth are not afforded that luxury.

7.4. THE LABELLING PROCESS (SIEGEL, P.233)

1. Initial Criminal Act

People commit crimes for a number of reasons.

2. Detection by the Justice System

Arrest is influenced by racial, economic and power relations.

3. Decision to Label

Some are labeled 'official' criminals by police and court

4. Creation of a New Identity

Those labelled are known as troublemakers, criminals etc. and shunned by conventional society.

5. Acceptance of Labels

Labelled people begin to see themselves as outsiders (secondary deviance, self-labelling).

6.Deviance Amplification

Stigmatised offenders are now locked into criminal careers.

7.5. CONSEQUENCES OF LABELLING

a. Stigma :

The labeled deviant becomes a social outcast who may be prevented from enjoying a higher education, well-paying jobs and other social benefits. Such alienation leads to a low self-image.

b. Reflective Role-taking :

The process of labelling may produce a reevaluation of the self which reflects actual or perceived appraisals made by others. When the believe that others view them as antisocial or troublemakers, they take on attitudes and roles that reflect this assumption; they expect to become suspects and then to be rejected.

c. Joining Deviant Cliques :

When children are labelled as deviant, they may join up with similarly outcast delinquent peers who facilitate their behaviour. Eventually, antisocial behaviour becomes habitual and automatic.

d. Retrospective Reading :

It is a process in which the past of the labelled person is reviewed and reevaluated. to fit his or her current status. Beyond any immediate results, labels tend to redefine the whole person. The label 'ex-con' may create in people's imagination a whole series of behaviour descriptions -tough, mean dangerous, aggressive, dishonest, sneaky -that a person who has been in prison may or may not possess. People begin to react to the label and what it signifies instead of reacting to the actual behaviour of the person who bears it.

e. Dramatisation of Evil :

As the negative feedback of law enforcement agenciesi parents, friends, teachers and other figures amplifies the force of the original label

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stigmatized offenders may begin to reevaluate their own identities. If they are not really evil or bad, they may ask themselves, why is everyone making such a fuss. This process is referred to as the dramatisation of evil.

f. Primary and Secondary Deviance:

According to Edwin Lemert, primary deviance involves norm violations or crimes that have very little influence on the actor and can quickly be forgotten. It is simply rule breaking. Whatever the specific causal factors that give rise to it,. primary deviation is of little concern to labeling theorists unless It IS detected and elicits a reaction.

In contrast, **secondary deviance** occurs when a deviant event comes to the attention of significant others or social control agents who apply a negative label. The newly labeled offender then reorganizes his or her behaviour and personality around the consequences of the deviant act. He/ she may eventually become a habitual or hardened criminal and end up in prison. Thus, secondary deviance reaction involves resocialisation into a deviant role. It is deviance that results from societal.

7.6.SELF-CONTROL AND CRIME

Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi in their book, A General Theory of Crime (1990) define crimes as " acts of force or fraud undertaken in pursuit of self-interest" and affirm that "crime is the natural consequence of unrestrained human tendencies to seek pleasure and avoid pain". What kind of person would engage in such activities? It would be a person with low self-control. Therefore, people who deviate lack self-control.

According to the authors, people lacking self-control have a concrete 'here and now' orientation and have difficulty deferring gratification; they tend to lack diligence, tenacity or persistence in a course of action; they are adventurous and active; tend to have unstable marriages, friendships and employment histories; they neither possess nor value cognitive or academic skills nor do they necessarily have manual skills; they tend to be self-centred and indifferent or insensitive to the needs of others. When such individuals

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are presented with opportunities to commit crimes, they more likely than not will commit the crime. Low self-control is a result of ineffective or inadequate socialization. To develop strong self-control, the parent or care providers should monitor the child's behaviour, recognize when the child deviates and punish the deviation.

Assessment

1. The authors do not claim that crime is an inevitable outcome of low self-control.
2. Since the socialization process is ongoing throughout an individual's life, the number of deviants or offenders declines with age.
3. They posit that the state is neither the cause nor the solution to crime. Apart from the limited benefits that can be achieved by making specific criminal acts more difficult, policies directed toward enhancement of the ability of familial institutions to socialize children are the only realistic long-term policies with potential for substantial crime reduction.
4. After considerable research, one critic has this stay to say about this theory: "Too much crime falls outside the boundary of their definition for this general theory to be of much use" (Polk,1991)

7.7. SELF-ESTEEM AND CRIME

Though several social scientists have postulated a causal relationship between self-esteem and criminal behaviour, it is Howard B. Kaplan (1980) who has formulated the most comprehensive and most widely tested theoretical statement of the self-esteem model of crime and delinquency. He begins with the fundamental sociological observation that we. develop our sense of self through interaction with others in the groups to which we belong. Over time, we internalize their responses and form our self-concepts. These could be positive or negative. When we think positively about ourselves, we feel self-confident and in control of our lives i.e. we have high self-esteem.

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We will behave responsibly and treat others respectfully. Otherwise, if we see ourselves as losers and failures, we will have low-self-esteem. We are likely to become withdrawn; we may even engage in some form of self-destructive behaviour.

For individuals with low self-esteem, crime and delinquency may come to be viewed as self-enhancing opportunities. Their low self-esteem predisposes them toward deviant activity. "Whether deviant behaviour is adopted and which type is chosen depend on circumstances -what kinds of deviant activity are visible and available, the perceived attractiveness of these opportunities and so on. Whether the involvement is continued...depends in turn on the extent to which deviant activity is in fact felt to be self-enhancing or self-derogating". (Scheff, 1989)

Assessment

1. Though it has been found that persons with low self-esteem do experience self enhancement through deviant activity, individuals with exceptionally high levels of self-esteem also were found to do the same. Kaplan's theory does not explain this dynamics.

2. Focusing on low self-esteem as the cause of crime individualises the crime problem and decontextualises offenders from the social, political and economic constraints they face in their everyday lives.

7.8. LABELLING -IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF CRIMINALITY

1. Labelling perspective identifies the role played by social control agents in the process of crime causation.

2. It recognizes that criminality is not a disease or pathological behaviour.

3. It distinguishes between criminal acts (primary deviance) and criminal careers (secondary deviance) and shows that these concepts must be interpreted and treated differently.

Evaluating Social Process Theories

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1. Social learning, social control and social reaction -all the three branches of social process theory suggest that criminal behaviour is part of the socialization process. Criminals are people whose interactions with critically important social institutions and processes are troubled and disturbed.

2. A vast body of empirical data exists to show that delinquents and criminals are people who grew up in dysfunctional families, who had troubled childhoods, and who failed at school, at work and in marriage.

3. Social process theories suggest that people can be helped by social programmes that help them become committed and attached to society.

4. These theories do not account for the patterns and fluctuations in the crime rate.

5. They do not satisfactorily explain why criminals escalate their activity and why they desist from crime as they age.

7.9. SUMMARY

Social interactions shape the behaviour, beliefs, values and self-image of the offender. Persons who have learnt deviant social values, find themselves detached from conventional social relationships, or are the subject of stigma and labels from significant others will be the most likely to fall prey to criminal behaviour.

Check Your Progress

1. Examine social control theory?
2. What are the elements of the social Bond.
3. Explain Social Reaction Theory.
4. What are the consequences of Labelling?
5. What do you mean by Retrospective Reading?
6. What is the relationship between self-control and crime.
7. What is the importance of Labelling?

7.10. KEYWORDS

Attachment - It refers to a person's sensitivity to and interest in others, The acceptance of social norms and the development of a social conscience depend on attachment and caring for other human beings.

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Differential enforcement - The law is differentially applied, benefiting those who hold economic and social power and penalizing the powerless.

Labelling theory - a perspective describing how certain behaviours come to be defined as criminal and the consequences of these definitions for individuals found to be engaging in such activities.

Primary deviance - rule breaking without detection and, therefore, without a socio-legal reaction.

Retrospective reading - a process in which the pas.of the labeled person is reviewed and reevaluated to fit his or her current status.

Secondary deviance - deviation that results from societal reaction. When an individual's deviation elicits a formal, public reaction, the reaction process can lead to a total reorientation of the individual's self-perceptions.

Self - fulfilling Probhecy rophe -expectations about how the individual will behave are fulfilled, not so much because the person is truly bad or abnormal, but because both the person and others have come to believe he or she is bad or abnormal and they act accordingly.

Social Bond ties that bind people in society. Sensitivity to and interest in others act as forces in controlling a person's criminal behaviour.

7.11. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer. Para. 7.1
2. Refer. Para. 7.1.(a)
3. Refer. Para. 7.2
4. Refer. Para. 7.5
5. Refer. Para. 7.5(d)
6. Refer. Para. 7.6
7. Refer. Para. 7.8

7.12.MODELS QUESTIONS

1. "Youth who maintain both the lowest self image and the greatest need for approval are the ones most likely to seek self-enhancement by engaging in criminal activities". Discuss

2. "Labelling theorists use an interactionist definition of crime". Explain

3. Write short notes on the following:

   a. Self-esteem and crime

   b. Stigma

   c. Dramatization of evil

   d. Primary deviance

(Space for Hints)

Source Books

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson, USA

c. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

UNIT - V

RADICAL CRIMINOLOGY

LESSON-8

CRIME AND POWER

INTRODUCTION

The world is filled with conflict. Conflict is destructive when it leads to war, violence and death, but it can be functional when it results in positive social change. Criminologists who view crime as a function of social conflict and economic rivalry are aligned with a number of schools of thought. They are referred to as conflict, critical, Marxist, or radical schools of criminology, or one of their affiliated branches, including peacemaking, left realism, postmodern and radical feminism. In this lesson, we shall confine ourselves to Marxist criminology, Left realism, Postmodern theory and Peacemaking criminology.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the context and content of Marxist criminology.

2. To learn to differentiate between structural Marxism and left realism.

3. To be initiated into Postmodern and Peacemaking criminology.

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

Unit Structure

(Space for Hints)

8.1. Radical Criminology

8.2. The Criminology of Willem Bonger

8.3. Early Radical Criminology

8.4. Crime and Privilege.

8.5. Crime and Oppression.

8.6. Structural Criminology
   a. Structural Marxiam

   b. Crime and Power Relation.

8.7. Left Realism

8.8. Post - Modern Criminology

8.9. Peace - Making Criminology

8.10. Summary

8.11. Keywords

8.12. Answer to Check Your Progress

8.13. Model Questions.

8.1. RADICAL OR CONFLICT OR MARXIST CRIMINOLOGY

These theories represent a dramatic break with the paradigmatic frameworks of the theories discussed so far. They are openly critical of and pose direct challenge to both the classical and positivist conceptions of crime and law. Moreover, they advocate fundamental changes in our society's social structure, in particular in our mode of producing and distributing resources, in order to substantially reduce or eliminate crime.

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Radical criminologists maintain that there is no such thing as an inherently criminal act. They emphasize structured inequalities as they relate to the distribution of wealth and power in capitalist society, and hence define power in terms of class affiliation rather than diffuse interest groups. They maintain that virtually all crime can be explained by examining the patterns of economic organization in a society. Though Marx and Engels said very little explicitly about crime and law, his followers have extrapolated from their general writings a Marxist theory of crime and law.

"Marxist criminologists" ignore formal theory construction with its heavy emphasis on empirical testing. They scoff at the objective, 'value free' stance of mainstream criminologists and instead argue that there should be a political, ideological basis for criminological scholarship. Crime and criminal justice must be viewed in a historical, social, and economic context.

"Crime is a political concept" designed to protect the power and position of the upper classes at the expense of the poor. The upper-class crimes such as violations of human rights due to racism, sexism and imperialism and other violations of human dignity are crimes just as much as burglary and robbery. To control crime and reduce criminaiity, we must end the social conditions that promote crime. Destructive social conflicts inherent within the capitalistic system cannot be resolved unless that system is destroyed.

In a capitalist economic system, as the rate of surplus value increases, more people are displaced from productive relationships and the size of the marginalized population increa;es. They are forced to live in areas conducive to crime. Their commitment to the system decline, thus weakening their bond to society. Free market economy will doubtless produce more displaced and unemployed persons and therefore increase criminality. To control this criminality, draconian laws will be enacted and new, modern prisons will be established!

8.2.THE CRIMINOLOGY OF WILLEM BONGER (1916)

During his life time, Bonger observed increased crime rates in Eu-

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rope and tried to explain this phenomena in terms of thė effects of the development of the capitalist economic system. He compared life in pre-capitalist societies in the European capitalist societies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He described primitive communist societies as being characterised by altruism, which grew out of the way production in these societies was organize. In contrast, the capitalist mode of production, With its emphasis on production or exchange and accumulation of wealth, generated egoism. It made people greedy, ambitious and competitive. It is this egoism that caused crime. His discussion on crime was not limited to crimes committed by the poor and the working class; rather he argued that egoism also led to crime along the middle and the upper classes. The obvious solution to the crime problem for Bonger was the transformation of capitalism to socialism.

For criminologists in the late 1960s and 1970s who were searching for an alternative to the classical and positivist paradigms dominant at that time, Bonger's propositions proved valuable.

In 1968, a group of British sociologists formed the National Deviancy Conference. They called attention to ways in which social control might actually be a cause of deviance rather than a response to antisocial behaviour. Many of the conference members became concerned about the political nature of social control. In 1973, the British scholars Ian Taylor, Paul Walton published The New Criminology, which called for the development of new criminological methods of analysis and Critique.

In the US, the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, the civil rights movement and the feminist movement raised questions about power and inequality in society and created an atmosphere in which criticism of the'establishment' was not only perrmissible, but also encouraged. Criminologists began to question the legitimacy of the legal system itself. Anthony Platt, Julia and Herman Schwendinger, and Paul Takagi from the University of California at Berkeley published the first radical journal of criminology: Crime and Social Justice.

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8.3.EARLY RADICAL CRIMINOLOGY

At this stage, instrumental Marxism began to emerge. According to this theory, law, law enforcement agencies and government itself are instruments of the ruling class to maintain their advantageous position in society and to control those who pose a threat to that position. This view is best expressed in the writings of Barry Krisberg and Richard Quinney.

8.4. CRIME AND PRIVILEGE

Krisberg (1975) argued that crime must be studied within the broadest quest for social justice, which requires that one understands the relationship between crime and privilege. He defines privilege as 'the possession of that which is valued by a particular social group in a given historical period'; it includes money and property, but also such intangibles as 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'.

There are a number of privilege systems operating simultaneously in a stratified society: a class privilege system, a race privilege system, and a gender privilege system, among others. An examination of the operation of the criminal justice system clarly reveals each of these privilege systems at work at all levels; from the moment of contact with the police to conviction and sentencing in the courts, class, race and gender variables influence outcomes. Much of the criminality of the privileged is not cially considered crime at all, but rather standard business practice. The legal system is, in reality, an active partner in preserving the privilege of the elites.

8.5. CRIME AND OPPRESSION

Richard Quinney developed a criminological theory in a series of important publications: The Social Reality of Crime (1970), Critique of the Legal Order (1973) etc. His analysis of crime and the legal system was explicitly Marxist. He argued that American society could best be understood in terms of its class structure. The majority of the population constitutes a subordinate class. The ruling class, in contrast, is composed of those who own and control the means of production; 'a smail, cohesive group of

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persons related to one another in their power, wealth and corporate connections'. This is the class that makes the decisions affecting the lives of those who are subordinate to it and formulates criminal policy for the preservation of domestic order, an order that assures the social and economic hegemony of the capitalist system.

The alternative he advocated was democratic socialism. In this type of society, private ownership of capital is abolished and everyone has equal access to material and cultural resources. This allows individuals to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. It also frees them from the alienating effects of acquisitive individualism. Members of sllch a society cooperate with one another and share an egalitarian sense of unity. They also respect diversity and protect individuals' rights regardless of their differences. In such a society, there is no need for the state or for state law. In place of law, community custom will be used for the patterning of our daily lives and breaches of custom will be resolved by the popular tribunal. Rather than being punitively sanctioned, those who breach custom will be re-educated within the community.

Assessment of Instrumental Marxism: What do the critics say?

1. Early radical criminologists were highly critical of positivistic methods of research; instead, they relied heavily on qualitative evidence, historical analysis, and secondary sources for data in support of their theories.

2. The members of the upper class do not seem to consciously and directly manipulate and control the legal system to further their own interest. E.g. not all laws favour the interests of the ruling class: health and safety laws, child labour laws etc.

3. Its claim that capitalism is the root of all evil is not testable theory, but a political dogma.

4. A number of critics are also skeptical of the merits of socialism.

5. Some consider the expansion of the definition of crime to include sexism, racism, imperialism and human rights violations as broad, vague, highly subjective and unscientific.

8.6. STRUCTURAL CRIMINOLOGY

a. Structural Marxism

William Chambliss, Robert eldman, Michael Lynch, and Raymond Michalowski represent structural Marxism. They propose the following :

1. Law is simply not a tool of the ruling class, but it serves to preserve the long- term interests of capital. Comrr
2. Simply because a law is on the books, it does not mean that it will be effectively implemented and enforced.
3. One's position on the social class hierarchy largely determines one's life chances and opportunities.

b. Crime and Power Relations

John Hagan (1989) states that crime should be understood and studied in terms of power relations. Power relationships may be instrumental, as in the use of rights of ownership to manipulate corporate resources in the commission of white-collar crimes, or symbolic, as in the relational assignment of victim and villain statuses to user and dealers of drugs. Hagan pays special attention to one type of power relations, namely, that of social class and crime. He defines social class in terms of relations of ownership and authority, locating social actors in relation to one another in the social organization of work. E.g. he examines how owners of businesses and persons with occupational authority are located in positions of power that allow use of organisational or corporate resources to commit larger crimes than persons located in employee positions without authority.

Relational measures of class highlight positions of persons who are unemployed. The fact of unemployment rather than low status, their position

of powerlessness rather than a deprivation of status, that better account for punitive sentencing decisions. Persons in positions of authority within a work organization can use the power and resources of the corporation to shield and distance themselves from criminal prosecution, while successfully pursuing the convictions of individuals against whom they initiate criminal prosecutions.

Structural Marxism and structural criminology emerged out of a sense of dissatisfaction with the instrumental Marxism position on crime and law. There are three additional radical approaches that deserve our attention: left realism, postmodern theory and peacemaking criminology.

8.7. LEFT REALISM

Left realism is most often connected to the writings of British scholars John Lea and Jock Young (1984). They take a more realistic approach, saying that street criminals and gang members prey on the poor and disadvantaged, thus making them doubly abused, first by the capitalist system and then by members of their own class.

Their position is that 'deprivation equals discontent and discontent plus lack of political solution equals crime'. They do not view police and the courts as inherently tools of capitalism whose tough tactics alienate the lower classes.

To create crime control policy, left realists welcome not only radical ideas but build on the work of strain theorists, social ecologists, and other mainstream views. Community-based efforts seem to hold the most promise as crime-control techniques.

Left realists give the impression of legitimizing the existing power structure by supporting the existing definitions of law and justice. But they respond saying that even a socialist state requires a police force, a system of law and justice and a criminal code which reflects and represents public opinion.

8.8. POSTMODERN CRIMINOLOGY

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Radical thinkers who adopt deconstruction analysis as a method of understanding all human relations, including criminal behaviour are known as postmodernists.

They analyse rules and regulations and the legal code to determine whether they contain language and content that forces racism or sexism to become institutionalized. They believe that language is value laden and can promote the same sort of iniquities that are present in the rest of the social structure.

They assert that there are different languages and ways of knowing. Those in power are able to use their own language to define crime and law while excluding or dismissing those who oppose their control like prisoners and the poor. This exclusion is the source of conflict in society.

8.9. PEACEMAKING CRIMINOLOGY

To the members of the peacemaking movement, the main purpose of criminology is to promote a peaceful and just society. They draw their inspiration, from religious and philosophical teachings, ranging from Quakerism to Zen.

Larry Tiftt, a criminologist (1980) writes," The violent punishing acts of the state and its controlling professions are of the same genre as the violent acts of individuals. In each instance these acts reflect an attempt to monopolize human interaction". Sullivan and Tifft articulate their view in Restorative Justice (2001). They advocate humanitarian forms of justice like mediation and conflict resolution without resorting to brutal punishments.

Restorative justice believes that crime is injury and crime hurts not only individual victims but also communities and offenders, and creates an obligation to make things right. All parties should be a part of the response to crime, including the victim if he or she wishes, the community and the offender. However, the victim's perspective is central to deciding how to repair or restore the harm caused by the crime. Accountability for the offender means some accepting of responsibility to repair the harm done.

Check Your Progress

1. Examine Radical Criminology?
2. Examine Willem Bonger's Contribution.
3. What do you mean by Crime and Privilege.
4. Write short notes on Crime and oppression.
5. Giva a Brief account of structual Criminology.
6. State about Left Realism.
7. What is meant by Peace making Criminology.

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8.10.SUMMARY

In this lesson, we examined a variety of theories that collectively may be categorized as radical criminology: Marxist criminology, instrumental criminology, structural criminology, left realism, postmodern and peacemaking criminology. We noted that the most recent developments in radical criminology are already playing a major part in shaping the direction of future research and theory in criminology.

8.11.KEYWORDS

Itrumental Marxism -the theoretical perspective that sees law, law enforcement ncies and government itself as tools or instruments of the ruling class to maintain iir advantageous position in society and to control those who pose a threat to that that position.

Left realism -a branch of radical criminology that includes an examination of crimes the wealthy, but also emphasizes the irnportance of taking street crime seriously as Iroblem committed primarily by the poor against the poor.

Peacemaking criminology -a branch of radical criminology that sees crime as one many forms of violence that can be most successfully addressed through lviolent, harm-reduction measures rather than through harsh, punitive social control hniques.

Postmodern criminology -a branch of radical criminology that questions our ability know truth since truth is socially constructed through everyday interactions and guage, and that sees as a major goal the field the deconstruction of the meanings and processes we attach to crime and criminal justice.

Pre-emptive deterrence -a crime reduction strategy advocated by left realist ninologists that involves criminologists and other social activists working within cific neighbourhoods to prevent crime rather than neighbourhood relying on reased police surveillance and other repressive control techniques.

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Radical criminology -a body of diverse theories that nonetheless collectively phasize the role of inequality in crime causation and criminal justice processes as II as the necessity for fundamental social structural change in order to reduce crime oppression.

Structural criminology -a theoretical approach that gives primacy to the role of er relations in understanding and undertaking research on crime.

Structural Marxism -the theoretical perspective that sees law as an attempt to olve societal crises precipitated by the inherent contradictions of capitalism.

8.12. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRES

1.Refer. Para. 8.1

2. Refer. Para. 8.2

3. Refer. Para 8.4

4. Refer. Para 8.5

5. Refer. Para. 8.6

6. Refer. Para. 8.7.

7. Refer. Para. 8.9.

8.13. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define radical criminology and briefly describe three of its branches.

2. Critically assess the criminology of Bonger or Quinney.

3. Write short notes on the following:

   a. Left realism

   b. Post-modern Criminology

   c. Peacemaking Criminology

(Space for Hints)

Source Books

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson, USA

c. Siegel, Larry J. (2003) Criminology, Wadsworth, USA

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UNIT - VI

GENDER, CRIME AND JUSTICE

LESSON -9

FEMINIST CRIMINOLOGIES

INTRODUCTION

We present a survey of three main groups of feminist theories of criminology: Liberal feminism, Radical feminism and Socialist feminism. They share in common the assumption that gender is socially constructed and serves as a central organizing strateglei factor of social life. In addition to presenting the gendered differences in crime, victimization, and criminal justice, we focus on the strategies given by the feminist prol criminologists to bring about social change towards a more just society.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the core principles of feminism.
2. To distinguish the specific characteristics of Liberal, Radical and Socialist feminism.
3. To assess the contribution of feminism to the development of criminological theory

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

(Space for Hints)

Unit Structure

9.1. Feminist Criminology

9.2. Liberal Feminist Criminology

a) Legal Change

b) Revision of Gender Socialisation

c) Power Control Theory

9.3. Radical Feminist Criminology's Contribution's

9.4. Socialist Feminist Criminology

9.5. Feminism and Future of Criminology

9.6. Summary

9.7. Keywords

9.8. Answer to Check Your Progress

9.9. Model Questions.

9.1. FEMINIST CRIMINOLOGY

The primary aim of feminist theory is to draw upon women's ways of knowing in contrast to criminological theory rooted in men's experience. Its objective is to eliminate androcentric science and produce a distinctly feminist approach to crime and criminal justice. There is no single feminist theory. Rather there are liberal, radical, socialist and other varieties of feminist thought. All these variations share a feminist perspective on gender issues that is not captured by mainstream criminological theories.

Historically, criminologists ignored female criminality. The little attention that was given to female offenders usually was limited to three contexts:

1. Comparisons that underscored women's lack of involvement in crime as compared to men;

2. studies of prostitution; and

3. analyses of the depravity of violent women.

Most criminologists believed that it was not in women's nature to be criminal. In the minds of the criminologists and the general public, 'criminal' was equated with 'male'. **Freda Adler's Sisters in Crime** (1975) and Rita J. Simon's **"Women and Crime"** (1975) challenged these views. The central theme of both books is that women's crime had begun to change in both quantity and quality and that this was due not to a modification in women's nature, but rather because of increased criminal opportunities for women.

9.2. LIBERAL FEMINIST CRIMINOLOGY

Liberal feminism focuses on securing the same legal rights for women that men enjoy in order to achieve gender equality in access to employment opportunities. The strategies employed to accomplish this goal are:

a. Legal change :

abolishing gender discriminatory laws and enacting laws that prohibit gender discrimination; and

b. Revision of gender socialization practices :

Today, males are socialized to be aggressive, independent and competitive, whereas females are socialized to be passive, dependent and nurturing. This has to change so that males and females learn to be more alike.

One application of liberal feminist ideas to traditional opportunity theory is emancipation theory. According to this theory, female criminality is an outgrowth of the women's liberation movement. Because of this movement, women have more opportunities to participate in legitimate activities and have become more assertive, independent and competitive. As women gain more legitimate opportunities, they also have more occasions to participate in illegitimate activities. This is the reason that the female criminality is

on the increase. Is there any research evidence for this? While the arrests of women has increased substantially in recent years, women's arrest rates are still dramatically lower than men's for all types of crimes except prostitution.

c. Power - control Theory

John Hagan's theory (1987) is a direct attempt to explain gender differences in criminality specifically delinquency. If falls within the framework of liberal feminism.

1. Males and females in our society are socialized differently. Social class is a mediating factor in gender socialization.

2. Differences in male and female delinquency rates reflect these differential socialization experiences.

He contends that power relations within the family are derived from power relations within the workplace. The gendered division of power in the home is a reproduction of the power and other resources that fathers and mothers have at work. In Particular, in egalitarian families where both parents are likely to work outside the home and to enjoy similar access to power and resources in their workplaces, mothers exercise less direct control over both their daughters and sons. Daughters' behaviour in these families is parallel to that of the sons; daughters and sons share similar attitudes towards risk-taking and, therefore, delinquency- Unfortunately, this theory suffers from a lack of empirical support.

9.3. RADICAL FEMINIST CRIMINOLOGY! : CONTRIBUTION

Radical feminism is a theoretical perspective that sees gender inequality or' sexism as the most fundamental form of oppression. Pornography, rape, sexual harassment, battering and other types of physical, psychological and sexual abuse all serve to keep men in power and women powerless. Eliminating sexism will require much more than the enactment of laws prohibiting sex discrimination. Even as dramatic a change as the replacement of class-based society with a classless one will not suffice from the radlcal feminist

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perspective, since sexism can be found in socialist and capitalist societies alike. What needs to be overthrown are patriarchal relations, not class relations.

Radical feminist criminologists have largely focused their research on women as crime victims and how the legal system has failed to protect women from men's violence. Intimate partner abuse is higher among women than men. The police, the courts and the criminologists have been more preoccupied with male street crime. The legal system has been overwhelmingly ineffective in regulating the manufacture and sale of pornography. When women are raped, they often think that it is they, and not the rapist, who must prove their innocence by showing that they conform to traditional standards of respectable femininity and that they did nothing to precipitate the rape.

One of the strengths of radical feminist criminology has been its unrelenting effort to spotlight men's violence against women and the dangerous unresponsiveness of the criminal justice-system to female victims of crime perpetrated almost exclusively by men. Radical feminism was the first theoretical perspective to emphasize the intersection of gender, patriarchy and sexuality to understanding crime and law.

STANDING IN A WOMAN'S SHOES

Physical, Social and economic vulnerability affect men and women differently. Social structures give result in undeserved disadvantages to the male or result in undeserved disadvantages to the female. Unless there is a positive affirmation of a woman's rights, her voice will not be heard. This affirmation must come from courts. The Madras High Court has played a stellar role in the evolution of gender justice. On its 150th anniversary, it is fitting to recall this contribution.

Three groups

I gave categorised the cases that the court has dealt with in this regard into three groups - the pre-constitution period, 1950-2000, and the 21st century- with the full awareness that any list of "my favourites" is liable to be criticised.

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In the **Pre-Constitution period**, when the right to equality and special provisions for women were notenshrined as law, we find in the Madras High Court a remarkable rocognition of the Woman's right to rpoperty, to dignity and in fact a recognition of woman as just herselfand not as and adjunct to man as father, husband or son.

As early as in 1864, in **Chalakonda Alasani vs -Chalakonda Ratnachalam**, the court held that the rules applicable to a coparcenary for custody of the properties and the separate ownership of self - acquistitions were applicable to female membersof a devadasi community living jointly. It was dealt with asif it was a family. Nowadays, the concept of what constitutes a family may not longer be based on marriage or heterosexual ties. From that perspective, this judgement is indeed very modern.

The right to dignity of a woman was seen as an indefeasible right by the court. In **Ramnath Zamindar and Anr Vs. Doraiswami (1882)**, the claim to legitimacy by the son of a dancing girl was upheld. The Court empathised with her reluctance to expose herself to insensitive cross - examination. **In Parvathi Vs. Mannar (1884)**, the Bench held that the English law insisting upon proof of special damage in a case of libel against a married woman would not apply under the customs and social context of the country. In both cases, the Court looked at the issue **"standing in her shoes"**.

Does the husband have the right to beat his wife? Such a misconception is still prevalent. But in **Emperor Vs. Subbaiah Goundan (1936)**, the Court was clear that no husband and such a right, ".... and wife - beatingis not eonomine one of the exceptions in the Chaper of 'General Exceptions' in the Indian Penal Code ... We think it necessary to state in unmistakable terms that the learned sessions judge's declaration of the rights of husbands in this regard has no foundation, so that no one may rely upon that in future as a Justification for wife - beating". Behind the wry humour, we can sense the courts pain.

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In **re Boya Chinnappa**, our court held thatthe prosecutrix in a rape case cannot be treated "as if she were an accomplice so far as her credibility is concerned". Yet how often our courts have even in later cases treated her exactly like that and the she is repeatedly victimised during the trial!.

In the 50 - year period that covers the second group of cases, women were moving out of their homes to seek employment, and women were also moved out of their homes because of divorce or desertion. The courts had to deal with these issues.

But first, let us look at the right to dignity again. In **re Ratnamala and Another (1962)**, the judge held "I must reiterate that the modesty of a prostitute is entitled to equal protection, with that of any other woman. The technique of such raids must be totally altered; otherwise, grave abuses of the law might enter into the very attempt to enforce the law". Even today, this declaration that her right to dignity is non-negotiable needs to be reiterated!

In **Srinivasa Padayachi V. Paravathiammal (1969)**, the question was whether the prenuptial settlement deed was valid. The court said: "Marriage may be a sacrament under Hindu Law, but that does not militate against the existence of a contract for the marriage." The tone is so modern, affairming that the factum of marriage will not destroy the woman's contractual rights.

Divorce undeniably renders a woman economically very vulnerable, and the court set right the imbalance. In Soundarammal Vs - Sundara Mahalinga Nadar (1980), the court observed that the laws of divorce should not result in merely wrapping the wronged woman with decree copies of alimony but that the alimony awarded should compensate her for her loss an should be realised uninterruptedly and fully. **In Ameer Amanullah vs Pedikkaru Mariam Beevi (1985)**, the court held that the statutory obligation to provide maintenance to the wife and children transcends personal law and operates irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

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By 1985, Women in employment were commonplace, and views that a woman's rightful place was in the hearth were no longer place was in the hearth were no longer acceptable. But patriarchal bias still permeated bublic spaces. The Court held in Sivanarul V. State of Tamil Nadu that a woman cannot be removed from work because she was married. **In Rukmani Vs. The Divisional Manager, Marapalam Tea Division,** the Court held that it was obnoxious and arbitrary to ask a woman to produce a "no objection" certificate from her husband to get a job. In **R. Vasantha V. Union of India**, the woman insisted that she shall not be excluded from employment in the night shift. The Court agreed, "This social change must necessarily have its impact upon the traditional perspectives concerning woman's role and that must call for change in our laws .... to advance the constitutional guarantees..." A true trendsetter.

A minor girl asserted that her father had no right to terminate her pregnancy. And the court agreed in **V. Krishnan Vs G. Rajan @ Madipu Rajan.** It is a Significant decision for its admirable prescience in recognising, though tacitly, a girl's right over her body without being trapped by extraneous questions. It said that the Constitution does not distinguish between minors and adults when it concerns fundamental rights.

In the Chidambaram Padmini case and the Meera Nireshwalia case, the very spaces that oughtto be safe for a woman victimised her. In the former, the complainant was raped in a police station; in the latter, her home became a hazard. The husband, in collusion with the person who had bought her property, had termed her insane and confined her in an asylum with the help of the police. In both cases, the court showed its stern disapproval and awarded compensation.

Facing or prosecuting a matrimonial case is not easy for the woman. In Janaki Vs. V. Sundaram, reminding the Family courts about their role, the High Court held; A starving wife cannot be compelled to face the trial. The very purpose of establishing a Family court is to have a different atmosphere in regard to settlement of family problems. Family court must instil faith and confidence in parties."

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This is live equality, not pedantic equality that treats two unequal persons as equal.

Twenty -first century

Now we move to the 21st century when women are turning agents of change and the Court has facilitated the process. Two momen claimed that they must be appointed as members of a public trust in Lalitha Sundari and another Vs Kedarnathan (2002). The Court relied on CEDAW (convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women), to which India is a signatory and held that there can be no discrimination against women regarding appointment to public office, and upheld their claim.

The wife who was not allowed to enter the marital home contended that it was a shared household and in Vandana Vs Srikanth (2007), the court proactively construed the concept of a "Shared household" and secured her space. It was a nascent Act, and a narrow interpretation would have defeated the purpose of the enactment. And in **M. Palani Vs Meenakshi (2008)** the Court held that maintenance can be claimed by a woman in a domestic relationship, based on consensual sex regardless of its duration. The glass ceilings in the religious space are the hardest to shatter. In **Pinniyakkal Vs. District Collector and ors (2008)**, the women said that she had the right to be a pujari (priest) in a temple and the High Court protected her right, observing "The altars of the God must be made free from gender bias."

The Courts did not forget the homemaker either. In National Insurance Co. Vs. Minor Deepika and others, the High Court put an economic value to the work done by the homemaker. It invoked the CEDAW Principles affirming her right to dignity. Turning to working women in the workplace and her right to be free on sexual harassment, the Court, in Srinivas Rajan Vs Director of Matriculation Schools, said, "The Special Committee which enquired into the allegations made by the women staff... had clearly forgotten the real import of the Vishakha case." A woman who has been widowed is traditionally expected to retire from public space but in **R.**

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Malathy Vs Director - General of Police, the woman fought for her right to continue in Police service, and she succeeded. This judgment traces the history of injustice inflicted on widows. One sees that in this period, the Court has looked at gender equality from many angles.

True, the Woman has not always succeeded. But as we celebrate the 150th year of a great High Court, I wish only to record the triumphs (certainly not all of them) in this humble tribute. There have been failures, but the time to dissect them is not now.

Assessment

1. Critics object to radical feminist criminologists'- characterization of all men as oppressors.
2. In elevating gender oppression as the primary oppression, radical feminists overlook the importance of other inequalities of social class inequality and racism.
3. Radical feminists portray the legal system too simplistically as an instrument of male domination.
4. Many feminists are more optimistic than radical feminists that legal change can help turn the tables on men who historically have been afforded more protection than the women they victimize.

9.4.SOCIALIST FEMINIST CRIMINOLOGY

Socialist feminists examine how gender and class shape criminal opportunities, victimization experiences and responses by the criminal justice system to both offenders and victims. James Messerschmidt (1986) offered the most important contribution to the development of socialist feminist criminology. He proposes that it is gendered and class-based division of labour coupled with gender and workplace socialization experiences that account for differences in the frequency, seriousness, and motivations for criminality between men and women in different social classes.

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Women are subject to greater controls in ,society; they are most closely supervised by parents, husbands and boyfriends. They are also underrepresented in positions of economic and political power. Both of these factors limit women's opportunities for white-collar, political and street crime, The crimes they commit reflect economic marginalization. From a socialist feminist point of view, a rise in recent years in women's petty property crime and drug offenses is product of the feminization of poverty, the increasingly difficult struggle for survival for particular types of women. Socialist feminist criminologists have also challenged the traditional conception of offenders and victims as two distinct or dichotomous groups. Especially women and girls could be offenders and victims at the same time. They run away frome to escape the victimization at home and they may indulge in stealing to survive. But the police will punish them for larceny and return them to their homes. where they will be victims once again.

Assessment

1.The strengths of socialist feminist criminology are:

Its analyses of the dual importance and interactive effects of gender and class inequalities in shaping women's and men's criminal and victimization experiences

Its challenges to traditional criminological depictions of victims and offenders as distinct groups, the home as safe and the public world as dangerous and the legal system as a value-neutral protector that acts in women's best interests.

Some of the weaknesses are:

Despite their best efforts to equalize gender and class in their analysis, in most cases, they fall short and end up giving primacy to one or the other, usually class.

They have overlooked the importance of race and ethnicity, treating women as a homogenous group or as distinguished only by social class

Check Your Progress

1. What is the Primary aim of feminist Theory?
2. Examine John Hagan's theory
3. Examine Radical Feminist Criminology's contribution.
4. Examine socialist Feminists Criminal opportunities?
5. Assess the strength of socialist feminist Criminology?

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The socialists' call for the elimination of both patriarchy and capitalism to achieve justice will not inevitably result in an egalitarian or just society; other oppressions, particularly, racial and ethnic discrimination may remain in place.

9.5.FEMINISM AND FUTURE CRIMINOLOGY

Feminist Criminology is a growing field of study. There are many emerging perspectives; a variety of feminist works that examine the relationships and contradictions among consciousness, ideology, and human conformity-resistance. While criminology largely ignored gender for more than two centuries, we are grateful to feminist criminologists that as we embark on the twenty-first century our discipline is no longer gender-blind.

9.6. SUMMARY

In this chapter, we discussed feminist theories of criminology. So far, the discipline of criminology has ignored them. It can continue to do so at its own peril. This new perspective in criminology has become a movement enveloping the whole world. In a special way, we are happy to note that feminist criminologists explore strategies for bringing about social change toward a more just society. This is all the more urgent and to be welcomed in the age of globalization, privatization and corporate capitalism.

9.7. KEYWORDS

Feminism - a school of thought that explains gender in terms of the social structures in which it is constructed and emphasizes the importance of taking more collective action to end sexism.

Gender - the socially generated expectations about the attitudes and behaviours of women and men that are typically organized dichotomously as femininity and masculinity respectively, and that are produced and transmitted through social learning.

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Patriarchy - a social system in which men dominate women, and what is considered masculine is more highly valued or labelled as more important than what is considered feminine.

Exism - the differential valuing of one gender over the other.

9.8. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer Para. 9.1.
2. Refer. Para. 9.2
3. Refer. Para. 9.3
4. Refer. Para. 9.4
5. Refer. Para. 9.5

9.9. MODEL QUESTIONS

1 . What is the difference between radical feminist and social feminist criminology?

2. Explain briefly John Hagan's power-control theory.

3. Many feminist theories have been developed specifically to explain women's lower rates of criminality and differences in the types of crimes women and men commit. -Discuss

SOURCE BOOKS

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What do you think?

Write 'yes' or 'no' against each statement.

1. Gender is socially constructed and serves as a central organizing factor of social life.

2. The Primary of aim of feminist theory is to draw upon women's ways of knowing in contrast to criminological theory rooted in men's experience.

3. Historically, criminologists ignored female criminality.

4. Most criminologists believed that it was not in women's nature to be criminal.

5. Liberal feminism focuses on securing thes same legal rights for women that men enjoy in order to achieve gender equality in access to employment opportunities.

6. The gendered division of power in- the home is a reproduction of the power and other resources that fathers and mothers have at work.

7. Radical feminism is a theoretical perspective that sees gender inequality as the most fundamental form of oppression.

8. Radical feminism was the first theoretical perspective to emphasize the intersection of gender, patriarchy and sexuality to understanding crime and law.

9. Women and girls could be offenders and victims at the same time.

10. From a socialist feminist point of view, a rise in recent years in women's petty property crime and drug offences is a product of the feminization of poverty.

Phoolan Devi, the Bandit Queen

I. Early Life

Phoolan Devi was born in a small village called Ghura Ka Purwa, on the Yamuna river Pradesh. She was born female, into poverty and low caste, a Shudra sub-caste of boatmen called mallahs. As a child she searched for the face of God to ask Him why her family had nothing, and others so much; why mallah children had to do chores for everyone in the village, hoping for a piece food in return. Mallahs were be beaten by thakurs, a ruling caste with wealth and land; Phoolan and her sisters were constantly beaten and insulted by her own uncle, Bihari, a mallah who denied family their rightful inheritance .of land. Her father was eternally pious, humble and submissive, seeking justice in the courts that never came. Her mother, on the other and, was fierce in her own right:

Stand up straight, she always told me. 'Be proud of yourself. If somebody slaps you, slap them back... if someone beats you and you don't fight back, t~en I'll beat you.' And she always added, 'Be fair; don't steal anyone's fruits or crops; be honest"(p. 145).

Wherever it came from, Phoolan's pride was firmly planted, and even as a child her sense of entitlement and justice extended beyond her own safety. Even as a young girl, she refused to submit to rules, systems, and humans that she could see were corrupt and unjust, even putting her life in danger. At no more than nine years old, for example, when she saw Mayadin, Bihari's son, leaving in the night with her family's tree, which was to be sold for her dowry, she leapt at his moving cart and grabbed the rope harness that ran through the nose of one of the bullocks, refusing to let go, no matter how much Mayadin whipped her from his seat.

At the age of eleven, she was married. Her husband abandoned her a few years later, sending her back to her village, where she was considered deviant, impure, and shameful, but was not openly shunned. She de-

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vised ways for the poor to make sure that they would be paid for -their work; she made many enemies and got a reputation for using bad language, and being a troublemaker.

I was Iscoverlng piece y piece ow my world was Put together: the power of men, the power of privileged castes, the power of might. I didn't think of what I was doing as rebellion; it was the only means I had of getting justice." (p. 144),

One thing led to another- for standing up for herself, or for her family, Phoolan was always punished tenfold by the thakurs and village elders. Eventually the son of the Sarpanch (head of the village federation) came with a gang of men in the night to her house, and raped her in front of her parents. Seeking revenge, Phoolan broke again the code of silence regarding rape, and went to a thakur, a village chief from a neighboring village who had a dispute with the Sarpanch. The chief and his men went to the Sarpanch's house, but only the women were at home, so they drove them out, and beat them, and tore the sari off the Sarpanch's wife.

The same evening, a council was held to decide what to do about Phoolan. The verdict was marriage to an old man, a servant of the Sarpanch. She rejected, as she would all her life, the idea that anyone should decide her fate like that: she ran away.

The elders then went to the police, and charged her with being a dacoit and a bandit. She was arrested, gang-raped and beaten by the police, but there was no evidence against her, and she w'as released. When she returned to her village, the people knew what had happened to her in jail, and her reputation was really ruined. The Sarpanch told her family they would have to pay eleven hundred rupees to draw water from the well, because she was so dirty she would contaminate the water for everypne just by drinking it: I had

The rich only wanted one thing from us: they wanted us to be thei obedient slaves. They had provoked my rebellion, and now they were turn· ing me and my family into pariahs because of it, with no wheat, no work

not even any water... We were born to serve others. 'Why is it my destiny?' I argued. 'They're no different from us, they have the same blood in their veins...so why us?" (p. 199).

Phoolan and her family had to barricade themselves in the house; every day was a new humiliation. Again she was raped and beaten in front of her parents; when she complained to the police, they just laughed at her, and called her shameless for telling such a thing at al.

II. Self Transformation

Then there came a change, a breaking point. Phoolan's "self" had undergone a vast transformation. After working with her father one day, the man refused to pay them, saying it was Mayadin's orders. Phoolan had had enough. "I gripped my sickle and started to scream. 'You bastard dog, you're going to pay us... or I'll cut you to pieces!" (p.204). The next day she marched to the Sarpanch's house, and to Mayadin's screaming that she had a rifle, that she was going to kill them. "From that moment on I began to breathe again. I walked through the village without shame. I went to the river to bathe whenever I wanted. I had no more fear. I told my parents their was dead. My father was alarmed. I told him not to worry, I wasn't going to drown myself." (p. 206)

When a thakur came to her house to rape her, as they often did, she whipped him with a tree branch. "I had changed. My whole being had been fired with rage and rebellion by the nerve of the thakurs, by their contempt for us." (p. 208) More came a week later, and she calmly asked them if they had wives, sisters or daughters. "Would you like someone to do to them what you want to do to me? Get out! Go back to your wives! If you set foot in here again, I'll kill you!' They were amazed. 'You must be crazy to talk to us like that...'

Phoolan didn't even have a rifle herself, yet her power was obvious, just from her own claiming of it. "Word had got around and everybody was afraid of me now. Nobody from the village bothered me and nobody came

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from other villages to demand vile things of me." (p. 209) Phoolan's family thought she was mad. She couldn't relate to them-she no longer feared her mother, she stood up to her and would not be controlled in any way. She resented her father for bringing her into the world, and even her little brother and sister had begun to annoy her. Sometimes she would wake from a nightmare, run to Mayadin's house, and scream at him to come out and kill her and she could kill him, and it would all be over. "They all thought the only reason I had the nerve to behave that way was that I was under someone's protection. I used to howl with laughter to see them cowering from me." (p. 210)

III. Conclusion

From the Chambal ravines, Phoolan had indeed come a long way, fighting every inch of it. The images of a diminutive woman in trousers, with a Phoolan belonged to the Malha community, one of the most backward castes among the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), which constitutes 7 per cent of the OBC population. She rose from poverty, rape, abuse and degradation to infamy as an outlaw, avenging her honor, raiding the rich with her gang, and sharing the spoils with the poor.. After 11 years in prison she was released on bail. Although she was illiterate, and 57 court cases of murder, robbery and kidnapping were pending against her Phoolan Devi was elected to the Indian Parliament. She was indeed a victim of caste oppression and gender exploitation who fought back first by resorting to acts of gory revenge and later by moving on to the political plane .She rose to become a people's representative, fight for the rights of the oppressed, and create a niche for herself in the world of politics dominated by men. But she did it. She got elected to the Lok Sabha twice in face of adversity. Phoolan Devi was shot dead in broad daylight in the high-security area in the national capital on July 25, 2001.

(http://www.Phoolan Devi.com and The Frontline, August 17, 2001)

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Questions

1. What were the factors in the early life of Phoolan Devi that made her choose a criminal career?

2. Why did she continue in this criminal career?

3. What made her cease to be a 'bandit queen'?

4. Discuss how the feminist theories of crime and criminality help us to understand her behaviour.

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UNIT - VII

INTEGRATING CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

LESSON-10

INTEGRATING CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

There are a very large number of theories in criminology. As a way to reduce the number of theories, Criminologists turn to integration. Since these theories focus on different aspects of the same phenomenon, they can therefore be combined through integration into smaller number of larger theories. The combined theories will be more powerful in the sense that they can explain more of the variation in crime. We present here a few such theories that can reasonably be described as integrated theories.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To appreciate the need for integrating criminological theories.
2. To assess a few models that have been proposed by criminologists as integrated theories.

UNIT STRUCTURE

Introduction

Unit Objective

Unit Structure

10.1. Integration - Its Meaning

a. Hirschi and Gottfredson

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10.2. Types of Integration

1. Conceptual Integration

a) Akers

b) Cullon and Colvin

10.3. Propositional Integration

10.4. Krohin's Network Analysis

10.5. Thorn Berry's Interactional Theory

a) Thorn Berry

b) Social Class

10.5. 1. Bonding Variables

2. Learning Variables

3. Intervening Variables

10.6. Kaplan's Self - Derogation Theory

10.7. Tittle's Control Balance Theory

10.8. Development and Life - Course Theories

1. Pathways to Crime

10.9. Age - Graded Theory

10.10. Multifactor Theory

1. Mobility

2. Cultural Conflict

3. Family Break down

(Space for Hints)

4. Political Life

5. Religion and Crime

6. Economic Conditions

7. Media

10. 11. Summary

10.12. Keywords

10.13. Answers to Check Your Progress

10.14. Model Questions

10.1. INTEGRATION -ITS MEANING

Theory Integration is the combination of two or more pre-existing theories, selected on the basis of their perceived commonalities, into a single reformulated theoretical model with greater comprehensiveness and explanatory value that anyone of its component theories. The goal of this integration is, of course, to identify commonalities in two or more theories to produce a synthesis that is superior to any one theory individually.

a. Hirschi and Gottfredson (1990) are against any integration attempts. They argue that what passes for theoretical integration in criminology usually involves ignoring crucial differences between the theories undergoing integration. Akers (1989) agrees with Hirschi that the integration of theories,' if done without regard to incompatibilities, can result in useless 'theoretical mush'. Thornberry (1989) suggests theoretical elaboration as a strategy for theory building that lies somewhere between integration and outright opposition. Elliott (1985) advocates theoretical integration.

10.2. THERE ARE TWO TYPES OF THEORETICAL INTEGRATION:

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1. Conceptual: It is a process by which concepts from one theory are shown to overlao in meaning with conceots from another theory.

2. Propositional: It relates propositions from different theories. This can be accomplished by showing how two or more theories make the same predictions about crime, even though each begins with different concepts and assumptions.

10.2. (1) Conceptual Integration

a. Akers: Integration by conceptual absorption

Akers (1977) showed the ways in which social learning theory concepts and propositions overlap with and complement social bonding, labeling, conflict, anomie, and deterrence theories. He also proposed that integration could be achieved by conceptual absorption. It means subsuming concepts from one theory as special cases of the phenomena defined by the concepts of another.

He gives the examples of the concepts 'belief' and 'commitment' from social bonding theory and how these concepts could be absorbed into the social learning theory concepts of 'definitions' and 'differential reinforcement'. Similarly, the social bonding concept of 'attachment' can be subsumed under 'intensity' of association specified in social learning theory.

Akers clarifies that conceptual integration does not by itself produce propositional integration. For example, while social boding theory predicts that strong attachment to others will inhibit delinquency, even if that attachment is to delinquent friends, social learning theory predicts the opposite outcome, namely, that delinquency will be facilitated by intense association or attachment with or to delinquent friends.

b. Cullen and Colvin: Social Support and Coercion

Francis Cullen (1997) proposes that **'social support'** (social integration in a group relationship in which emotional, material and social assistance is provided to one another) can be used as the central organizing con-

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cept around which all of criminology can be unified. According to him, social support prevents crime and therefore, the greater the social support the lower crime and victimization.

Mark Colvin (2000) says that **'coercion'** (defined as whatever forces one to act through fear, anxiety or intimidation) may be the unifying concept in criminology because crime is a reaction or response to coercion.

There are **two types of coercion:**

1. "Interpersonal" Coercion is direct, involving the use or treat of force and intimidation from parents, peers and significant others.

2. "Impersonal" Coercion involves pressures beyond individual control, such economic and social pressure caused by unemployment, poverty or competition among businesses or other groups.

Both Colvin and Cullen have teamed up to argue that there is an emerging theoretical consensus that 'coercion causes crime' and 'social support prevents crime' and that concepts from a wide variety of theories can be subsumed under these two general concepts.

Colvin and Cullen (2002) do not present any research testing the predicted effects of coercion and support, but they do offer policy implications. In general, they would support social or criminal justice policies that would 'enhance the legitimate sources of support and reduce the forces of coercion'.

10.3. PROPOSITIONAL INTEGRATION

"Elliott's Integrative Model" of Strain, Bonding and Learning.

"Delbert S. Elliott" and his associates have proposed the best-known theoretical integration of strain, control and social learning theories.

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Elliott's Integrated Theory of Delinquent Behaviour			
1	2	3	4
Strain Discrepancy in aspirations/ achievements and other strain in the family and school	Weak conventional Bonding Family and school involvement, commitment and attachment	Strong Bonding to Delinquent Peers Exposure to deviant peers compared to non-deviant peers; social reinforcement for delinquent behaviour; peer's and one's own attitudes favourable to delinquency	Delinquent Behaviour Self-reported

Their integrated model proposes (as shown in the diagram) that (1) strain (in the family and school) weakens (2) social bonds to conventional society, which in turn promotes (3) strong bonds to delinquents peers, which eventually lead to delinquent behaviour (4).

Their model begins with the assumption that there is variation in motivations both to deviate and to conform. They affirm that conventional socialization begins in the home, but it may be inadequate; therefore, weakened bonds to the family will enhance bonding to peers. The weaker the bond to conventional peers and the stronger the bond to delinquent peers, the greater the possibility of delinquent behaviour. Their integrated model was supported by the findings in the longitudinal data from their National Youth Survey. The final model reported by Elliott is more a variation on social learning theory with bonding modifications than it is a variation on social bonding theory with learning modifications.

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10.4. KROHN'S NETWORK ANALYSIS

Marvin D.Krohn (1986) has proposed an explanation of delinquency that draws on both social learning and social bonding theory. His networkiheory is also a crosslevel integration that connects the structural characteristics of social networks and Interactional processes.

A social network is a set of actors, individuals or groups linked by friendship or some other relationship.

* A personal network refers to an individual's set of linkages to others e.g family, friends, school etc.,

Consistent with social control theory, Krohn hypothesizes that a social network constrains individual behaviour. Consistent with social learning theory, he states that the network could be formed around participation in deviant activities and, as a consequence, the constraining effect of the network would be toward deviant behaviour.

Krohn identifies two major structural characteristics of social networks - multiplexity and density. The greater the network multiplexity, the greater the constraint on the individual's behaviour. The higher the network density, the lower the delinquency rate.

10.5.THORNBERRY'S INTERACTIONAL THEORY

Terrence P. Thornberry (1987) integrates elements of social structure, social bonding and social learning theory into an interactional theory of delinquency.

Social class, race, community, and neighbourhood characteristics affect both the elements of the social bond and social learning variables. The underlying cause of delinquency is the weakening bonds to society. But this weakening renders a youngster a more likely candidate for delinquency. Delinquent acts will not occur until they have been learned through association, reinforcement, and definitions. To the extent that this continues over time, delinquency will become a stable part of a person's behavioural pat-

tern. These influences are not static but vary by age and at different stages of onset, continuation or cessation of delinquency.

10.5. 1.Bonding Variables

a. Attachments to parents

b. Commitment to school

c. Belief in conventional values

10.5. 2.Learning Variables

a. Association with delinquent peers

b. Formation of delinquent values

10.5. 3.Intervening Variables

a. Social class

b. Caste/ethnicity

c. Neighbourhood Characteristics

d. Delinquent Behaviour

10.6. KAPLAN'S SELF-DEROGATION THEORY

"Howard B.Kaplan" (1975) proposed a self-esteem/derogation theory of adolescent deviance that brings together deviant peer influences (social learning theory), family and school factors (control theory), dealing with failure to live up to conventional expectation (strain theory), and self-concept (symbolic interaction ism and labelling theory.

According to Kaplan, each person has a self-esteem motive to take actions that minimize negative self-attitudes and maximize positive perceptions of self. Those adolescents who do not get such positive experiences in conventional groups, will turn to deviant groups and activities in an effort to get rid of self-derogatory attitudes and **develop self-esteem.**

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Recent research has generally supported the hypothesis in self-derogation theory that deviance 1S one way of adapting to self-identity problems, again with the strongest effects on that adaptation coming from peer associations.

10.7.TITTLE'S CONTROL BALANCE THEORY

Charles Tittle has proposed a synthetic integration in which control balance is the unifying causal ,process in criminal and deviant behaviour. Control balance is defined as the ratio of how much the individual is liable to control to how much he or she is able to control. This control balance is implicated in both motivation and inhibition of deviant behaviour.

The central premise of the theory is that the amount of control to which people are subject relative to the amount of control they can exercise affects their general probability that they will commit specific types of deviance.

Control balance operates in the context of four variables:

1. Predisposition : deviant motivation;
2. Provocation : positive and negative situational stimulation;
3. Opportunity : to commit specific types of deviance; and
4. Constraint : actual or perceived likelihood that one will be subject to restraining reactions from others.

These incorporate concepts from social learning, anomie, deterrence/ rational choice, and social bonding theory.

10.8. DEVELOPMENTAL AND LIFE-COURSE THEORIES

The goal of these theories is to understand better the stability and changes in criminal and deviant behaviour through time and at different life stages. There are many variations in the life course theories. Life course

theories argue that events that take place over the life course influence life choices. The cause of crime constantly change as people mature. Life course theories include the social developrr,ent model, which finds that living in a disorganized area helps weaken social bonds. But the key question to ask is whether life course criminology has produced new general theories or rather represents ways of pulling in concepts and propositions from existing theories at different stages or ages of life. Critics note that it is hard to identify any new explanatory variable introduced by the life course perspective.

10.8. 1.Pathways to Crime

Rolf Loeber and his associates (1998) have identified **three distinct pathways** to a criminal career.

1. The authority conflict pathway begins at an early age with stubborn behaviour. This leads to defiance (doing things one's own way, disobedience) and then to authority avoidance (staying out late, truancy, running away)

2. The covert pathway begins with minor behaviour like lying, shoplifting that leads to property damage (setting nuisance fires, damaging property). This behaviour \escalates to more serious forms of criminality like pickpocketing, stealing credit cards and cars, drug peddling, etc.,

3. The overt pathway escalates to aggressive acts beginning with simple aggression klike bullying and annoying others, leading to physical and gang fighting, and hen to violence (attacking someone, forced theft).

Each of these paths may lead to a sustained deviant career. There is strong research evidence to show that the seeds of a criminal career are planted early in life and that early onset of deviance strongly predicts later and more serious criminality.

10.9. AGE-GRADED THEORY

In an important book Crime in the Making (1993), **Robert Sampson** and John Laub identified the turning points in criminal career. They identified

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marriage and career as two critical turning points that enable adult offenders to desist from crime. Adolescents who are at risk for crime can live conventional lives if they find good jobs. In the same way, if they find a spouse who supports and sustains them even when the spouse knows they had a long history of crime in the past. For many individuals, marriage may mark a transition from heavy peer group involvement to a preoccupation with one's spouse and later with his family. Other significant and positive life events can help terminate deviant careers. Therefore, we can conclude that it is possible for former delinquents to rehabilitate themselves as adults.

10.10. MULTIPLE FACTOR THEORY

Criminologists have been trying hard to come up with a singular theoretical explanation of criminal behaviour. No one has succeeded so far. Instead, they have embraced a pragmatic approach called the 'multiple factor' approach. They recognize that crime is a product of a combination of a variety of factors. Of course, all the factors associated with a particular crime may not have equal importance as the cause of the crime.

1. Mobility:

The rapid industrialization and urbanization in India has led to increased migration of the population. Human interaction has expanded beyond intimate associations. Strange places and strange environment offer people better opportunities for crime as the chance of detection are minimized considerably. Mobility, in fact, serves as a potential cause of social disorganization, which may result in deviant behaviour. Women and children become easy targets for the unscrupulous underworld gangs.

2. Culture Conflicts:

Mobility facilitates a greater mingling of cultures within the nation. This may lead to culture conflicts. Conflicts between old and new values, local and imported values, traditional values and modern secular values may clash with each other. Sociologists even attribute the terrorist wave in the world to a 'clash of civilizations'.

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3. Family Breakdown :

Traditional family, as we knew it for centuries, is undergoing terribJe strains due to the socio-political changes in India. It is no more the haven of peace and love, security and solidarity. Values like duty, loyalty, love, respect and sacrifice are hard to experience outside of the home. Socialisation into a healthy value system fails to take place. In broken and dysfunctional families, wrong values and self- centred existence are learnt and practiced. Unemployment, low income, disunity, constant quarrels and misery further worsen the situation and people become an easy prey to criminality.

4. Political Life:

The political process in a country like ours is being made vicious by unscrupulous politicians. They are mostly after their own self- interests. The laws they enact in parliament and the programmes they, plan and carry out become easy targets of exploitation. Depending upon the ideology of the majority party in the parliament, new laws are enacted, which may cre:ate conflict among people e.g. liberalization of; abortion, imposition or withdrawal of prohibition, laws against dowry and untouchability etc. Even progressive legislation may open wide the doors to criminality.

5. Religion and Crime :

Normally religion is considered to be safeguard against crime. Unfortunately, religious fundamentalism encourages communal conflicts. Religion is unduly politicized and commercialized, becoming instruments of criminality in the hands of unscrupulous criminal elements.,

6. Economic conditions:

A minority in the population has profited enormously by globalisation, privatisation and liberalization. The poor are becoming poorer. The gap between these two groups is becoming a wide chasm. This situation leads to increasing white-collar crimes, on the one hand, and crimes of poverty, on the other. Corruption is ubiquitous and is becoming a deadly social virus.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the opinion of Hirschi and Grttfredson?
2. What are the types of Integration.
3. Examine Marvin. D.Krohn's Analysis.
4. What are the "Bonding Variables"
5. Explain "Control Balance Theory"
6. What are the Pathways to crime.
7. Examine Age-Graded Theory.
8. How Religion Contributes to crime?

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7. **Media:**

We are in the grips of the media. Print and electronic media, including the internet control our life. They instill wrong values in the, minds of the children and youth. The films glorifying sex and violence bring immense harm to the young. Computer crimes, including computer pornography are increasing at a fast pace. Self-regulating mechanism of the media does not function. All this lead to criminality among the people.

Crime is the product of all these social factors in different combinations.

10.11. SUMMARY

We have seen the need for integrating criminological theories. This integration can be conceptual or propositional. Social learning theory, in one way of another, is a main component of integrative models in criminology, along with social bonding and strain theories. Developmental theories integrate explanatory variables primarily from psychological, social learning and social bonding theories to account for stability and change in criminal behaviour at different stages of life course. In spite of atl these laudable efforts at integration, there remain skepticism and controversy about the value of building theory by melding together different explanations of crime and delinquency.

10.12. KEYWORDS

Conceptual absorption - subsuming concept from one theory as special cases of the phenomena defined by the concepts of another.

Conceptual Integration - It is a process by which concepts from one theory are shown to overlap in meaning with concepts from another theory.

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Control Balance Theory -A developmental theory that attributes deviant and criminal behaviours to imbalances between the amount of control that the individual has over others and that others have over him or her.

Developmental Theory- a branch of criminology that examines change in a criminal career over the life course. Developmental factors include biological, social and psychological change.

Interactional Theory - the idea that interaction with Institutions and events during the life course dertermine s criminal behaviour patterns; criminogenic influences evolve over time.

Life Course Theory - The study of changes in criminal offending patterns over a person's entire life. Are there conditions or events that occur later in life that influence the way people behave, or is behaviour predetermined by social or personal conditions at birth?

Propositional Integration -It relates propositions from different theories. This can be accomplished by showing how two or more theories make the same predictions about crime, even though each begins with different concepts and assumptions

Theory Integration - Is the combination of two or more pre-existing theories, selected on the basis of their perceived commonalities, into a single reformulated theoretical model with greater comprehensiveness and explanatory value that anyone of its component theories.

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10.13. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer Para. 10.1.(a)
2. Refer Para. 10.2.
3. Refer Para. 10.4.
4. Refer Para. 10.5 (1)
5. Refer Para. 10.7
6. Refer Para. 10.8. (1)
7. Refer Para. 10.9.
8. Refer Para. 10.10 (5)

10.14.MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What are the two types of theoretical integration? Explain with examples.
2. Describe Elliott's Integrated theory of delinquent behaviour OR Akers's Integration by Conceptual Absorption.
3. Write short notes on :

   a. Life-course theories

   b. Thornberry's Interactional Theory

   c. Tittle's Control Balance Theory

Source Books

a. Akers, R.L. & Sellers, C.S. (2004) Criminological Theories, Fourth Edition, Indian Print, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

b. Curran, D.J. & Renzetti, C.M. (2001) Theories of Crime, Pearson USA .

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c. Vold, G.B., Bernard, homas J., and Snipes, Jeffrey 8.(2002) Theoretical Criminology, Fifth Edition, Oxford University Press.

Case Analysis

The Profile of a Criminal Career: Veerappan

Koose Muniswamy Veerappan (c. January 18. 1952 - October 18, 2004 was a legendary Igml1 bandit in iQ.Qlg. He resided and carried out his activities in the Biligirirangan and Malai Mahadeswara Hills and Sath~amangalam and Gundiyaj forests, covering 6,000 km2 in the states of Karnataka Kerala and Tamil Nadu. He was wanted for killing about 124 people, including senior police and forest officials, poaching about 200 elephants, and smuggling ivory worth US$2,600,000 and sandalwood of about 10,000 tonnes worth US$22,000,000. He had a price of Rs.50 million (Rs. 5 QfQI.:e. or US$1.1 million) on his head, but evaded arrest for 20 years until he was killed by police in 2004. Unofficially, it is estimated that about 2,000,000,000 rupees (200,000,000 per year) was spent over ten years by the government in order to capture him.

Criminal timeline

.1970

- Joined a gang of poachers at the age of 18..

.1986

- Arrested and lodged at Boodipada forest guest house but escaped under mysterious circumstances (reportedly bribed a police officer).

.1987

- Kidnapped and hacked forest officer Chidambaram. Kidnapped and killed 5 members of a rival gang.

.1869.

- Killed 3 forest personnel of Begur forest range.

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. 1990

- Killed 2 police personnel as revenge for killing of 2 members of his gang.

- Killed another 4 police officials of Karnataka. The Karnataka government constitutes Special Task Force (STF) to catch Veerappan.

- Shot and beheaded Karnataka deputy conservator of forests, Srinivas as revenge for Veerappan's sister Mari's suicide (the victim's head was traced 3years later)

1992

- attacked a police station in R~mapura, killing five policemen and stealing arms and ammunition. STF killed 4 gang members in retaliation

- Trapped STF police official Harikrishna, Shakil Ahmed and 25 constables through a false informant. Killed 6 of the party using hand grenades and bombs.

1993

- Blew up a bus of 22 passengers including police and civilians, using landmine.

- Killed 6 policemen of Karnataka special SP Gopal Hosur's party.

- Tamil Nadu government deploys Border Security Force (BSF)

- Joint operations of BSF and STF arrested 19 gang members and killed 6. Three policemen were killed.

- Veerappan requested .a..mnest~ Victim's relatives opposed any government negotiations

1996

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- killed a police informer.

- Killed another 10 police personnel.

- Attacked police official Tamilselvan and killed a constable as revenge for the suicide of Veerappan's brother Arjunan in police custody.

1997

- Apparently killed heir apparent 'Baby' Veerappan.

- Kidnapped 9 Karnataka Forest officials from Burude forests.

- kidnapped and later released wildlife photographers Krupakar and Sellani (October)

2000

- Kidnapped Kannada film actor Dr. Rajkumar. Released him after 109 days (ransomed)

2002

- Kidnapped and allegedly killed, former Karnataka minister H. Nagappa. There are other sources, including police of Karnataka who claim that the bullet in the body of the former minister was from a rifle used by the Tamil Nadu Special Task Force.

2004

- Killed, presumably by Tamil Nadu State Special Task Force members

Lifeline

Koose Muniswamy Veerappa alias Veerappan was born at 08:17 hrs (1ST) on 18th of January 1952 in Goginatham village in Karnataka to a family of cattle- grazers. He was commonly know[illegible] "Molakai" in his childhood days by the locals. At age eighteerl he [illegible] a gang of goachers. Over the years he eliminated members of a rival gang and gained control of

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the entire forest belt. He made money smuggling sandalwood trees and killing tuskers for ivory.

His gang of forty members indulged in killing and kidnagging. Most of his victims were police and forest officials and informers. He felt the police were responsible for the suicides of his sister Mari and brother Arjunan. He was also known for his kidnapping of prominent people to make demands, starting with a forest official in 1987. He trapped and brutally killed a senior forest officer Mr. P. Srinivas I. F. S. on 10th of November 1991 in Namadalli forests of KoHegal taluk in Chamarajanagr district. He also killed Mr. Harikrishna I. P. S. and Mr. Shakeel Ahmed, two senior Police officers, along with others, on 14th August 1992 near Meenyam of Kollegal taluk by ambushing the police party going for a raid.

He married Muthulakshmi, a shepherdess, in 1991 He had three daughters, Yuvarani, Prabha and another, whom he allegedly strangled to death.

Veerappan had a Robin Hood-like image among the villagers adjoining his native village Gopinatham. The villagers acted as cover to his activities and informed him of police activities. They also provided food and clothing to the gang. However it has been suggested that the villagers helped him because of fear, and that Veerappan helped the villagers with money only to protect himself from being captured. He was very ruthless to villagers who provided the police with information.

Veerappan had impeccable iMOOL~ skills. Many have said that his mimicry of birds and deer helped him evade capture. He is quoted as having watched The Godfather over 100 times. He was a surprisingly refined man, with a strong penchant for Carnatic music. He was said to be religious and prayed every day. He was fond of his handlebar moustache and tended to it as a daily routine. He regularly made his communications to the government through emissary R.R.Gogal, requesting amnesty. He desired to start an orghanage and to join golitics, inspired by bandit-turned- Member of Parliament Phoolan Devi.

(http:ffen.wikipedia.orgfwikifveerappan)

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Questions

1. What were the factors responsible for the onset of verrappan's criminal career at the age of 18?

2. What might have been the motivating factors in continuing his life as a forest brigand?

3. Among the theories you have studied, which one(s) adequately explain his personality and actions?

4. Could you attempt an integrated criminological theory of your own to explain Veerappan's criminal career?

(Space for Hints)

THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY

MODEL QUESTION PAPER

FIRST YEAR -PAPER -II

Time: 3 Hours　　　　Marks: (5 x 20) = 100

Answer any Five. All questions carry equal marks.

1. What is a criminological theory? Describe the synopsis of Criminological theories. Enumerate the major criteria for evaluating criminological theories.

2. Define personality and classify criminal offenders in terms of their personalities 'Low intelligence leads to criminal behaviour' -elucidate.

3. "Most criminals are mentally ill" -Discuss. Write a critical note on Freudian theory of criminal behaviour.

4. Describe, discuss and critically assess Cohen's theory of delinquent subculture.

5. Critically comment on the main principles of Sutherland's differential association theory.

6. "Labelling theory uses an interactionist definition of Crime"- Discuss. Describe the consequences of labeling.

7. "Crime is a political concept designed to protect the power and position of upper classes and castes at the expense of the poor and the marginalized" -Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer with suitable examples.

8. Define liberal feminist, radical feminist and social feminist criminology and bring' out the major differences among them.

9. Basing on the developmental and life-course theories of criminal behaviour, attempt an integrated criminological theory of your own to explain Veerapan's criminal career.

(Space for Hints)

10. Write short notes on any TWO

a. CPI

b. Chicago School

c. Subculture of violence

d. Insanity as a defence for Criminal Prosecution.

: for Hints)

MODEL QUESTIONS

THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY

Time : Three Hours Maximum : 100 Marks

Answer any Five Questions (5 X 20 =100)

1. குற்றவியல் கோட்பாட்டு வளர்ந்த வரலாற்றினை கூறுக.?

   Describe the historical development of theories in the Criminology.

2. பிராய்டின் உளவியல் பகுப்பாய்வு மற்றும் குற்ற நடத்தை பற்றி விளக்குக.

   Explain the Freud's psychoanalysis of the human mind and criminal behaviour.

3. ராபர்ட் மெர்ட்டனின் சட்டத்துக்கு உட்படாத நிலை மற்றும் சூழ்நிலைக்கு ஏற்றாற்படி மாற்றி அமைத்துக் கொள்ளும் முறைகளின் முக்கியத்துவம் பற்றி வரையறு.

   Describe the Robert Merton's theory of Anomie and the importance of modes of adaptation.

4. கோகன் மற்றும் பெல்சனின் வழக்க முறை செயல்கள் தொடர்பான விளக்க கோட்பாட்டினை திறனாய்வு செய்க.

   Critically examine the Cohen and Felsons Routine Activities theory in Criminology.

5. விவரி.

   அ) சிகாகோ சிந்தனை பள்ளி

   ஆ) மனநோய் மற்றும்

   இ) சமூக விரோத ஆளுமை

   Explain It

   a) Chicago School

   b) Mental Illness and

   c) Anti-Social Personality.

6. குற்றவியலில் சுதர்லேண்டின் வேறுபடுத்துகிற தோழமை விளக்கக் கோட்பாட்டினை எடுத்தியம்புக

Enumerate the Sutherland's Differential Association Theory in the Crimininology.

(Space for Hin

7 வால்டர் சீ ரெக்லஸ் அவர்களின் அடக்கி வைத்தல் கோட்பாட்டின் தன்மைகளை விளக்குக.

Explain the Walter C. Reckless Containment Theory and its features.

8. குயின்னின் அமைதி உருவாக்கும் குற்றவியல் கோட்பாடு மற்றும் இன்றைய உலகில் அமைதியை ஏற்படுத்துவதில் அவற்றின் முக்கியத்துவம் பற்றி விவாதி.

Discuss the Quinney Peacemaking Criminology and its importance to making peace in the current world.

9. பாலினத்திற்கும் குற்றத்திற்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பினை பெண்ணிய குற்றவியலின் மூலம் விளக்கி விவாதி.

Discuss the relationship between Gender and Crime. Explain with the feminist Criminology.

10. விவரி

(அ) முற்போக்கு குற்றவியல்

(ஆ) அமைப்பு குற்றவியல்

(இ) முத்திரையிடுதல் கோட்பாடு.

Explain it

(a) Radical Criminology

(b) Structural Criminology and

(c) Labeling theory.